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BENJAMIN WISNER BACON WILLIAM H. COBB

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JOURNAL OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE

Volume XXVII

Part I

1908

The Elder John, Papias, Irenæus, Eusebius and the Syriac Translator

B. W. BACON

YALE UNIVERSITY

THE famous fragment of Papias which contains practically all we know of the beginnings of gospel composition, and forms our strongest link of connection with the Apostles, is quoted by Eusebius in an endeavor to correct what has been designated from its principal promulgator the "Irenæan tradition" of Apostles in Asia. Eusebius did not criticise this in its whole extent, but simply in so far as it rested on the statements of Papias.¹ Shortly before² the period of Irenæus' work (written *ca.* 186 A.D.) the Roman presbyter Gaius in debate with the Montanist Proclus, had repudiated the latter's authorities, the Johannine writings, as unauthentic.³ Irenæus (followed later by his disciple Hippolytus, whose *Heads against Gaius* are still extant in abstract⁴) became their stalwart champion, espe-

¹ The section begins: "Irenæus makes mention of these (the five books of *Exegesis*) as the only works written by him (Papias)." It proceeds to cite and criticise his description of Papias' relation to the Apostles and to Polycarp, as below, p. 15.

² Eusebius dates Gaius under Zephyrinus (*HE*, II. xxv. 6), probably too late.

³ The *Dialogue* aimed to "curb the rashness and boldness of his opponents in setting forth new Scriptures." It maintained the authority of "Peter and Paul" (attributing thirteen letters to the latter) against that of the writings attributed to "a great apostle" at Ephesus (*HE*, II. xxv. 7, VI. xx. 3, III. xxviii. 2). Polycrates (*HE*, III. xxxi. 3) inverts the argument.

⁴ See J. R. Harris, *Hermas in Arcadia and Other Essays*, 1896.

cially defending the Fourth Gospel. For this task his early residence in Asia and direct eye and ear knowledge of Polycarp, a survivor of the apostolic age, gave him an advantage of which he makes the utmost. He depends, however, for all his specific citations of apostolic tradition upon a written source, now generally admitted to have been the work of Papias, entitled *Κυριακῶν λόγων ἐξηγήσεις*. In the passage wherein his principal quotation is made he designates the worthy bishop of Hierapolis as "a man of the earliest period, a hearer of John and companion of Polycarp."⁵ Eusebius one hundred and forty years later, having the work of Papias before him, and examining it carefully for the specific purpose of determining this particular point, had no difficulty in showing by citation of the passages bearing upon the question that Irenæus had misinterpreted them, attributing to Papias a much closer connection with the apostolic fountain head of tradition than could be justly claimed.

On the other hand, if Irenæus was misled by his zeal to establish the unbroken continuity in proconsular Asia of that apostolic tradition whereof he counted himself a providential representative, Eusebius in his turn cannot be altogether acquitted of similar partiality. He also had read the *Dialogue of Proclus and Gaius*, and on all but one point was as ardently opposed as Irenæus himself to its anti-Johannine criticism. The Roman followers of Gaius, one of whose favorite arguments was to point to the disagreement of the Fourth Gospel with the other three, were to Eusebius as obnoxious as to Hippolytus and to the author of the *Muratorianum*. He regarded them as "senseless" Alogi, to quote the punning epithet of Epiphanius,⁶ men who for the sake of ridding themselves of the excesses of the "Phrygian heresy" had "emptied out the baby with the bath" by rejecting the whole Phrygo-Asiatic canon — Gospel, Epistles,⁷ and Apoca-

⁵ ἀρχαῖος ἀνὴρ, Ἰωάννου ἀκουστής, Πολυκάρπου δὲ ἑταῖρος.

⁶ Epiphanius in this portion of his *Refutation of All Heresies* merely reflects Hippolytus, the disciple of Irenæus, whose *Heads against Gaius* give us the substance of his refutation of the presbyter.

⁷ The rejection of the *Epistles* seems to be only the inference of Epipha-

lypse of John together. On one point of their contention, however, Eusebius was disposed to yield, though the arguments which had convinced him were not, or at least not directly, those of Gaius. Eusebius had been profoundly influenced by the reasoning of another great *malleus hereticorum*, Dionysius of Alexandria, whose opponents the Chiliasts based their millenarian doctrines, not like the Phrygian champions of the prophetic Spirit on the Johannine canon as a whole, but simply on the Apocalypse. Dionysius cut the ground from under their feet by denying its apostolicity, though he maintained as cordially as ever the authenticity of the Gospel and at least of the first of the Epistles. Henceforth Revelation, the writing which alone of the five made direct claim to Johannine authorship, with direct and explicit attestation by both Papias and Justin Martyr, became the "disputed," and the other four, or at least the Gospel and First Epistle, the "undisputed" Johannine writings. Eusebius quotes at length the argument of Dionysius against the Apocalypse, wherein the Alexandrian scholar displays the skill in literary criticism one might anticipate in a pupil of Origen, showing how completely Revelation differs in style and standpoint from the Gospel and Epistles. Eusebius himself was anything but favorably disposed toward the Chiliasts. He even attributes the crude eschatology he found represented by Justin Martyr, Irenæus, and other members of the Ephesian school, to the influence of Papias, whom for this very unfair reason he contemptuously sets down as "a very narrow-minded man."⁸ We are not surprised, therefore, to find him not only quoting the theory of Dionysius with approval, but in his famous list of "admitted," "disputed," and "spurious" books making special exception of Revelation, which *if* by the Apostle must of course be admitted as canonical; but otherwise cannot even

nus, but it was doubtless correct. The work of Hippolytus in the list of his writings on the back of the statue in the Lateran Museum is called only a *Defense of the Gospel and Apocalypse of John*. The Epistles were perhaps not involved in the dispute.

⁸ σφόδρα σμικρὸν τὸν νοῦν.

be classed with the "disputed" books (*ἀντιλεγόμενα*) which included 2 and 3 John, but must take its place with the "spurious" (*νόθα*).⁹ To impute partiality to Eusebius without convincing evidence would be a hazardous proceeding; but on this particular matter of the Apocalypse of John the evidence is convincing, for, Blass to the contrary notwithstanding, Papias certainly did make repeated and copious use of this book, besides attesting its "credibility" (*ἀξιοπιστός*). We have the full and explicit testimony of Andreas of Cæsarea, supported by Anastasius of Sinai, and Victorinus, to say nothing of Eusebius' own statements regarding the infection of millenarianism which spread from Papias through Justin to Irenæus. Over and above all we have Irenæus' testimonies concerning the currency of Revelation among "the persons who had seen John with their eyes."¹⁰ To deny weight to all this is to discredit oneself, not the testimony. Yet Eusebius, who had promised to give his readers the evidence he found in early writers of their use of books whose canonicity was in dispute, maintains complete silence regarding Papias' use of Revelation, while he mentions his "testimonies" taken from 1 Peter and 1 John. Silence under such conditions — silence so marked as to lead not only Blass but even Hilgenfeld actually to deny Papias' acquaintance with Revelation *in toto* — cannot be called impartial.

Clearly Zahn is right in maintaining that no scientific judgment can be passed upon Eusebius' correction of Irenæus' inferences from Papias, which does not give due consideration to his strong bias in favor of Dionysius' theory of Revelation as the work of "another John in Asia." In

⁹ Stanton (*Gospels as Hist. Documents*, p. 240), who thinks that if the *Dialogue against Proclus* had rejected the Fourth Gospel, "Eusebius could not have ignored so serious a departure," fails to perceive that Eusebius introduces his answer to Galus in III. xxiii. xxiv. Very shortly before (c. xviii) he speaks his mind on the origin of "the so-called Apocalypse of John." That he should lend weight to the objections "that the Gospels are at variance with one another" by naming as their author the "very learned ecclesiastic" Galus was not to be expected.

¹⁰ Iren. V. xxx. 1.

fact, he makes direct reference to Dionysius' suggestion in citing the passage (τῶν δύο . . . εἰρηκότων).

Now the weak point of Dionysius' theory had been his inability to point to any "other John in Asia" than the Apostle, for he does not himself rely upon the alleged "two μνήματα in Ephesus each bearing the name of John," but prefers to identify the John of Revelation with John Mark of Acts. It is here that Eusebius comes in with his great discovery. He has found, he thinks, the desired evidence in the Papias fragment. Papias does indeed refer to another John besides the Apostle, for, as Eusebius says, "he mentions him after an interval, and places him among others outside the number of the Apostles, placing Aristion before him, and distinctly calls him an Elder." On this Elder John of Papias Eusebius therefore eagerly seizes, as evidence "that it was the second (the Elder), if one will not admit that it was the first (the Apostle), who saw the Revelation, which is ascribed by name to John." He has the candor to admit, however, that Papias did not really state that he had been "himself a hearer of Aristion and the Elder John," but only "mentioned them frequently by name and gave their traditions in his writings." We see, then, that while Eusebius is anxious to correct Irenæus *in so far as the correction would militate against Revelation*, he is as anxious as any other orthodox father not to undermine the support of the rest of the Johannine canon by weakening those links of tradition which Irenæus had boasted of as connecting himself with the Apostle, for it is certainly Papias that Irenæus has in mind when he alleges that some of the Asiatic elders "saw not only John (as Polycarp had) but other Apostles also, and heard these things (the tradition of Jesus' age) from them, and testify to the statement."¹¹ The present "testify" (*testantur*) shows that he is quoting a written authority, which can be no other than Papias.

It is important to observe this distinction in Eusebius' prejudices in weighing Zahn's endeavor to discredit his

¹¹ *Her.* II. xxii. 5, Euseb. *HE*, III. xxiii. 3.

statements. He was, we must admit, quite perceptibly anxious to deprive Revelation of its claim to apostolicity. *As regards all other elements of the Irenæan tradition he was doubly zealous to support it.* His eagerness to find "another John in Asia" does indeed require a discount on this feature of his testimony. In fact, the concessive *γούν* ("at all events he [Papias] mentions them frequently by name, and gives their traditions in his writings") is nothing less than an admission that his imputation of a personal relation between Papias and this "Elder John" had no support in the text. As we shall see, an eye not prejudiced like that of Irenæus, and that of Eusebius in no less degree, to support the apostolic succession of Asia would have drawn quite other inferences. Dionysius, for example, can hardly have been ignorant of this Elder John. So renowned a scholar can scarcely be supposed to have left unnoticed the famous work of Papias in his controversy with the Chiliasts. But Dionysius found nothing in Papias to connect "the Elder John" with Asia. In this "discovery" therefore Eusebius could claim complete originality. Contrariwise as respects all other points of the Irenæan tradition. From these Eusebius had cogent reason for subtracting as little as possible, for in his own earlier work¹² he had committed himself to all the exaggerations of Irenæus, ranking Papias in the generation along with Polycarp, and even calling him in Irenæus' own words "a hearer of John the Apostle." Thus the stronger Zahn's case becomes against the impartiality of Eusebius, the stronger grows the probability that Papias knew of no John in Asia at all, save what he read in Rev. 14. 9.

Effort has been made by Zahn,¹³ and especially by Gutjahr,¹⁴ to turn to account the new evidence afforded by the Syriac version of Eusebius in the interest of this same heightening of the rank of Papias and vindication of Irenæus' pretensions on his behalf. We shall endeavor to show

¹² *Chronicon* for Olymp. 220, ed. A. Schoene (1866), II. p. 162.

¹³ *Forschungen*, VI. 1. *Apostel und Apostelschüler in der Provinz Asien*, 1900.

¹⁴ *Glaubwürdigkeit des Irenäischen Zeugnisses*, 1904.

on the contrary that the peculiarities of this extremely ancient translation furnish evidence only on the opposite side. They are striking enough and eminently consistent, for all tend to the very object the Protestant champion of reactionary views and his Roman Catholic ally have so much at heart. The one great drawback is that they prove altogether too much, evidencing not so much what *Eusebius* wished to say, as what the *translator*, whom we may designate S, desired to make him say; for S's loyalty to his author was not equal to his loyalty to current orthodoxy. In short, he takes sides against his own text for a still more stringent interpretation of the long-established Irenæan tradition. Not unnaturally he makes the same kind of nonsense we find in Biblical versions such as the LXX and Targums, whose authors felt it necessary to be more orthodox than the Scriptural writers they professed to translate. As manifesting this *Tendenz* even the blunders and arbitrary changes of S have value. The tenacity of the Irenæan tradition, in the teeth of positive disproof will teach us two things: (1) A juster valuation of Eusebius' opposition to it. We shall realize both how impossible it is that Eusebius should have made resistance on a point so vital to the church, even retracting his own earlier statements, without a careful and systematic review of the admitted sole source of information on the subject;¹⁵ and also how impossible that having made it, his representations should have gone uncontradicted if Papias' treatise, in general circulation as it was for centuries after, had really been misrepresented.

(2) We shall also better realize from it how much more serious was the temptation to Eusebius to understate his correction than to overstate it. As we have seen, his *Chronology*, a substructure of his *History*, had embodied at full face-value Irenæus' erroneous placing of Papias, a vital link

¹⁵ It was essential to Eusebius' argument to show that Irenæus had no ulterior source of information, but based his statements on the passages adduced. Hence *ὡς μόρων γραφέντων*. Irenæus' exclusive dependence on the written work for his knowledge of Papias is proved (against Gutjahr) not merely by his gross misdating of the man, but by his description of the source of his information *ἐστὶ γὰρ κτλ.*

in that succession of "Apostles and disciples of Apostles in Asia" so indispensable to all defenders of the Ephesian canon. We must therefore by no means minimize, but rather take at their *maximum* value, Eusebius' admissions that in the authority on which so much of his case rested there was no claim of direct relation even to the Elder John. Eusebius had made thorough search of the work of Papias, — the only source of evidence known either to Irenæus or himself, — and is obliged to admit that even the lower ranking which he tries to give its author finds no support in the book. The Papias passages themselves, — the most favorable Eusebius was able to find, — interpreted in their own context, place their author, as we shall see, not at the second, but at the *third* remove from apostolic authority. Papias was not a hearer even of the "disciples of the Apostles" *γνώριμοι τῶν ἀποστόλων*. Why then does Eusebius halt half-way in his correction of the error of Irenæus? Our study of his interest in current questions of canonicity leaves the motive transparent. To admit that Papias had not even been a hearer of the *second* John would conflict with *both* of Eusebius' cherished ideas. He would then be sacrificing both the authenticity of the Gospel *and* the unauthenticity of the Apocalypse as well. Such an interpretation would have been almost as obnoxious to him as to Zahn and Gutjahr. And yet this *third*-hand relation of Papias to the Apostles is what naturally follows from Eusebius' admissions. It is in fact, as we shall see, the only interpretation which can give a consistent meaning to the citation, or enable us to understand *πρεσβύτερος* in the sense always attached to it in the period in question. But let us turn now to S.

The Syriac version of Eusebius' *History*, edited in France by Bedjan in 1897, and by Wright and McLean in 1898 in England, is of extreme antiquity. It is known in a Petersburg manuscript of 462 A.D., a London manuscript of the sixth century, and from a subsidiary Armenian version (colated by Merx in Wright and McLean's edition) made before 441 A.D.; so that there is some ground even for the

claim of those who think the translator may have been a contemporary of Eusebius himself. For our purpose it is sufficient to place in one column the accepted Greek text, with collation of the Ms variants, the more or less arbitrary Latin renderings of Rufinus and Jerome, and the excerpts of Nicephorus, while we set in a parallel column an English rendering of Nestle's translation of the Syriac carefully compared with the original.¹⁶ Italics are used to call attention to the variations of the Syriac from the Greek text, [] for its omissions.

THE PAPIAS FRAGMENT

GREEK EUSEBIUS

Οὐκ ὀκνήσω δέ σοι καὶ ὅσα
ποτὲ παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων κα-
λῶς ἔμαθον καὶ καλῶς ἐμνημό-
νευσα συγκατατάξαι^a ταῖς ἐρμη-
5 νεῖαις διαβεβαιούμενος ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν
ἀλήθειαν. οὐ γὰρ τοῖς τὰ πολλὰ
λέγουσιν ἔχαιρον ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοί,
ἀλλὰ τοῖς τἀληθῆ διδάσκουσιν,
οὐδὲ τοῖς ἀλλοτρίας ἐντολὰς μνη-
10 μονεύουσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τὰς παρὰ
τοῦ κυρίου τῇ πίστει δεδομένας^β
καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς παραγινομένοις^γ τῆς
ἀληθείας. Εἰ δέ που καὶ παρηκο-
λουθηκώς τις τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις^δ
15 ἔλθοι, τοὺς τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἀνέ-
κρινον^ε λόγους, τί Ἀνδρέας ἢ τί
Πέτρος εἶπεν ἢ τί Φίλιππος ἢ
τί Θωμᾶς ἢ Ἰάκωβος^ς ἢ τί Ἰωάν-

SYRIAC VERSION

I do not scruple to adduce
for thee in these interpreta-
tions of mine that also which
I well learned []^a from the
Elders and well remember.
And I attest on behalf of
these *men*^b the truth. For I
did not take delight in those
who have much to say, as
many do, but in those who
teach the truth; neither in
those who recall command-
ments of strangers, but in
those who transmit what was
given by our Lord to the faith,
and is derived and comes from
the Truth (itself). *Neither*^c
did I when any one came

^a Var. συντάξει Ruf. exponere
cum interpretationibus suis.

^β Ruf. qui domini mandata me-
morabant.

^γ Var. παραγινομένας.

^δ Ruf. apostolos.

^ε Ruf. expiscabar. Jer. consid-
erabam.

^ς Nic. (III. 20) ἢ τί Σίμων ἢ Ἰάκω-
βος.

^a Syr. om. ποτε.

^b Syr. masc.

^c Gressmann (*Th. Ltz.* 1901, p.
644) (*Contrariwise*) not even when.

¹⁶ By the kindness of Prof. C. C. Torrey.

νης ἢ Ματθαῖος ἢ τις ἕτερος τῶν
 20 τοῦ κυρίου μαθητῶν, ἃ τε Ἀρι-
 στίων καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτερος Ἰωάννης
 οἱ τοῦ κυρίου μαθηταὶ λέγουσιν.⁷
 οὐ γὰρ τὰ ἐκ τῶν βιβλίων τοσοῦ-
 τόν με ὠφελεῖν ὑπελάμβανον ὅσον
 25 τὰ παρὰ ζώσης φωνῆς καὶ με-
 νούσης.⁸

along who had been a fol-
 lower of the Elders, *compare*
 the words of the Elders: what
 Andrew said, or what Peter
 said, or what Philip, or what
 Thomas, or what James, or
 what John, or Matthew, or
 any other of the disciples of
 our Lord. Nor what Aristo^d
 or John the Elder^e [].^f For
 I did not think that I could
 so profit from *their*^g books, as
 from the living and abiding
 utterance.

⁷ Ruf. ceterique discipuli dice-
 bant. Jer. discipuli domini loque-
 bantur. Nic. (II. 48) om.

⁸ Jer. add. in suis auctoribus.

^d Arm. Aristos.

^e Arm. *the elders*; simple addi-
 tion of the plural points in Syr.

^f Syr. om. οἱ τοῦ κυρίου μαθηταὶ
 λέγουσιν.

^g Syr. add. *their*.

The sense given by S to the Papias fragment is clear enough. He makes Papias distinguish three classes of teaching: (1) "the commandments of the Lord," "the Truth itself," which when reported by the actual ear-witnesses could be described as a "living and abiding utterance." These are the object of Papias' quest. (2) The second class includes "words of the Elders," oral or written. By "the Elders" S understands "the disciples of our Lord" mentioned by name, and "Aristo (*sic*) and John the Elder," the designation of the last two by the same title as the Apostles being omitted. To "books" S attaches the possessive "*their* books," showing that he is thinking of the Gospels. From the sayings and writings of "the Elders" (*i.e.* Apostles)¹⁷ Papias could profit, but not "*so* profit as from the living and abiding voice." (3) The third class of teaching includes the wonder-tales or "commandments of strangers" current in Papias' vicinity, but which were useless or worse.

¹⁷ Jerome at this point is even less scrupulous than S. To make it perfectly clear that "the Elders" are really the men of the first generation, he adds in the last clause "in the person of their authors," *i.e.* the apostolic authors of the Gospels (*viva vox usque hodie in suis auctoribus personans*).

To obtain this sense the Greek text has suffered; partly by S's intentional reconstruction, partly by accident. The extraordinary rendering, "Neither did I . . . compare the words of the Elders," which excites the wonderment of Zahn and Gutjahr, may be due to simple accident. ΕΙΔΕ has been misread ΟΥΔΕ, probably from illegibility of the first two letters. The rest of the changes are systematic, including the omissions.

Although in vol. xvii of this *Journal* (1898) I had already published previous to the appearance of the Syriac a conjectural emendation of the clause designating Aristion and John the Elder as "disciples of the Lord," pointing out that several references in Irenæus suggest ΟΙ ΤΟΥΤΩ ΜΑΘΗΤΑΙ instead of ΟΙ ΤΟΥΚΥ ΜΑΘΗΤΑΙ,¹⁸ and that transcriptional and internal evidence alike support the former reading, I cannot agree with Mommsen, who welcomed S's omission here, as representing the true reading.¹⁹ On the contrary, Corssen²⁰ rightly insists that *some* designation of these unknown men is indispensable to the context. Manifestly it should not be a designation identical with that just employed for the Apostles themselves, but one which marks the distinction imperfectly implied in the contrast of tenses (ἐῖπε, λέγουσι), and more adequately in the case of the second individual, who might otherwise be confused with the Apostle, by the epithet "the Elder." The distinction should be that of the second generation, as in Lk. 12 Heb. 23. The original in *Papias* was, as I have maintained and still maintain, οἱ τούτων μαθηταί, i.e. "the Elders the disciples of the Apostles," so frequently referred to in Acts, Hegesippus, and authorities dependent on Papias.²¹ But

¹⁸ Edwin A. Abbott in adopting the conjecture (*Enc. Bibl. s.v.* "Gospels," col. 1815, n. 3) improves upon it by using the supra-linear line in the word τούτων. He also cites an instance of the same corruption in Jud. 424. LXX, τῶν υἱῶν Β, but Α κυ (i.e. κυρίου) υἱῶν.

¹⁹ Abbott had previously taken this view (*l.c.*) on the basis of Arm. "The words 'the disciples of the Lord' can hardly have followed 'Aristion, etc.,' in the text used by Eusebius. . . . This . . . is confirmed by (1) their absence from the Armenian version," etc.

²⁰ *Zts. f. ntl. Wiss.* iii. (1902), p. 244.

²¹ *E.g.* Irenæus, *Her.* V. v. 1 and xxxvi. 2, "The Elders, the disciples of the Apostles." Euseb. παρὰ τῶν ἐκείνοις (the Apostles) γνωρίμων.

the corruption is earlier than Eusebius, probably earlier even than Irenæus. In Eusebius' text the phrase had already been assimilated to that of the line preceding, else Eusebius would not have been obliged to rely on grammatical arguments (διαστείλας τὸν λόγον . . . προτάξας αὐτῇ τὸν Ἀριστίωνα) to prove his point. Indeed, the corruption may well be largely responsible for the blundering of Irenæus himself. But S in omitting the clause is *not* following a better text of Eusebius, much less is he consulting a text of Papias. He is probably not even sensitive to the "chronological difficulty" which Lightfoot himself admitted to be occasioned by the clause.²² On the contrary, he makes two other changes in harmony with the Irenæan anachronism: he omits ποτέ and obliterates the difference of tense (εἶπε, λέγουσι), the only remaining trace of the chronological distinction. No, S's omission (followed by Arm.) is doubtless occasioned by the manifest incongruity, which produces the same result in one of the two excerpts of Nicephorus Callistus,²³ not to speak of other changes by Rufinus and others²⁴ at the same point. "Aristo" (*sic*) and "John the Elder" could not be regarded as "disciples of the Lord" *in the same sense* as the designation had just been applied to Andrew, Peter, Philip, Thomas, James, John, and Matthew. Changes were felt to be imperative. Arm., which simply adds plural points to the Syriac "the Elder," makes a shrewd guess at the real meaning; but the simplest remedy was to drop the unintelligible clause as a repetition. S understood very well that Andrew, Peter, Philip, and the rest were designated μαθηταί (not ἀπόστολοι), because the matter concerned was the transmission of teachings (μαθήματα). He knew the first "disciples" included no such names as "Aristion and John the Elder." The clause was patently erroneous; therefore he dropped it along with the ποτέ and the λέγουσιν. In the extract he does but one further violence to his text; he changes the spelling of the name "Aristion"

²² *Supern. Rel.* p. 150, n.

²³ II. 46. The excerpt III. 20 retains it.

²⁴ Rufinus omits τοῦ κυρίου. Four Greek Mss. omit *ol.*

to "Aristo." The form Aristo then becomes current in Armenian texts, being adopted in the Edschmiazin Codex of Conybeare from Moses of Chorene. This is a comparatively harmless, though mistaken identification of the unknown "Aristion" with "Aristo" of Pella, a heathen writer²⁵ quoted by Eusebius a few pages farther on. Moses of Chorene adds to the quotation, while Maximus Confessor, on the basis of a (misunderstood?) passage of Clement, declares Aristion to have been the author of the *Dialogue of Jason and Papiscus*.²⁶ Gutjahr is probably mistaken in supposing S to have read συνέκρινον for ἀνέκρινον in the clause, "Neither did I *compare* the words of the Elders." S renders ἀνέκρινον in the same way elsewhere, employing the same word (حصر) for "verify by comparison (with the Gospels)." He inserts an αὐτῶν, as we have seen, after βιβλίων in l. 23, and renders αὐτῶν in l. 5 as a masculine — pardonable liberties. The rest of his variants have significance only as supporting the preferred reading παραγινόμενας in l. 12.

The net result of S's work on the Papias fragment is then as follows: Papias appears, as in Irenæus, as the immediate ear-witness of more than seven of the Apostles, besides two individuals, one of whom is called "the Elder"; but the words of Elders, even Apostle-Elders, are of quite subordinate value to him. He is not seeking *their* words, but words of the Lord, to which they can bear witness. Needless to say this is not the sense of the Greek. Here the all-important word is the term πρεσβύτερος, four times repeated in the paragraph. *Their* words are just what Papias is after. The "commandments delivered by the Lord to the faith" have

²⁵ Perhaps the same as Aristo of Gerasa (30 miles from Pella) referred to as an ἀρεῖος ῥήτωρ by Stephen of Byzantium.

²⁶ As I have shown elsewhere (Hastings, *Dict. of Christ and Gospels*, s.v. "Aristion"), Conybeare's apparent discovery of the authorship of Mk. 16 9-20 turns out to be a mare's nest. Moses of Chorene was understood by the Armenian scribe to have declared that Hadrian made Aristo of Pella the secretary of "Mark" when he appointed him (Marcus) bishop of Jerusalem. Hence he attributes the appendix which he introduces for the first time into Armenian codices to "the Elder Aristo," the *secretary of Mark*.

been already considered with their interpretations. But the interpretations are disputed. As Polycarp had declared at a much earlier date, "the oracles of the Lord" were being perverted by the Antinomians to their own lusts. The heretics denied also "the resurrection and judgment." The books of "John" (the Apostle and revelator) and of "Matthew,"²⁷ representing as they did the apostolic teaching on the two points of doctrinal contention required to be supplemented by "turning to the tradition handed down from the beginning." It is exactly this which Papias undertakes to do. He may even have had the twenty-four books of Basilides' *Exegetica* in mind in adopting his own title. But we shall best get the sense of Papias' response to Polycarp's appeal by reproducing the paragraph from his preface in simple outline. The process is easy, for in spite of adverse criticism the style of the fragment is admirably clear and logical; its structure is perfectly in accord with the best principles of Greek rhetoric. Simply drop the subordinate clauses, and sense and logic force themselves free of the false presuppositions introduced by the Irenæan misdating.

Συγκατατάξω ὅσα ἔμαθον παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν διαβεβαιοῦμαι ἀλήθειαν·

οὐ γὰρ . . . ἀλλὰ τοῖς τἀληθῇ . . .

οὐδὲ . . . ἀλλὰ τοῖς τὰς . . . τῆς ἀληθείας.

εἰ δέ που παρηκολουθηκώς τις τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ἔλθοι τοὺς τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἀνέκρινον λόγους· . . .

οὐ γὰρ τὰ ἐκ τῶν βιβλίων . . .

ὅσον τὰ παρὰ ζώσης φωνῆς.

Everything here concerns the traditions of "the Elders" which Papias thinks not unworthy to be subjoined to his interpretations of the Lord's oracles. Hence the emphatic position and reiteration of the word "Elders." He bespeaks for their words higher consideration than such traditions are wont to receive because of the care he had taken in collecting them. This method he then describes in two

²⁷ As already shown, Papias knows John the Apostle as (reputed) author of Revelation. He "used testimonies" from 1 Jn., and therefore may have known the Fourth Gospel. That he considered John its author is improbable. His "Matthew" is certainly ours.

negative clauses and one affirmative: I did not . . . , nor did I . . . , but when a follower of the Elders came along I inquired for the words of the Elders. Finally, he justifies his going beyond the instruction of his own teachers by the superiority of oral tradition thus sifted to books.

Whom Papias meant by "the Elders" we have yet to inquire. All that is apparent thus far is that it is not, as S supposes, words of the Lord of which he is here speaking, but "words of the Elders," and that he gives no indication of meaning anything different by the term "Elders" in one part of the passage from what he means in another. True, Eusebius, and Irenæus before him, took "Elders" in l. 15 to equal "disciples of the Lord." Jerome actually adds three words to the text (l. 26) to force this meaning upon it. But the evidence that Abbott justly demands²⁸ that the word was ever so used has yet to be supplied. Even if Irenæus and Eusebius were not misled by the corruption of οἱ τούτων to οἱ τοῦ κυρίου, we have seen that Irenæus was blinded by his own prejudice on this point, and Eusebius was similarly precluded from more than a partial correction. The real distinction which Papias makes is between teachings from "books" and "words of the Elders" who reported the "living and abiding voice" of Apostles. The latter he got from chance comers who had been their (the Elders') followers, in particular followers of Aristion and the Elder John. The former he had obtained like others about him from those who had "taught the truth."

But since we are now dealing only with S and his evidences of *Tendenz*, let us leave temporarily his distortion of Papias, and see what he makes of the argument of Eusebius which encloses the extract. Here, too, we find the same bias in favor of Eusebius' opponent. The introductory sentence runs thus:

CONTEXT OF EUSEBIUS

Αὐτός γε μὴν ὁ Παππίας κατὰ But he, Papias, does not
τὸ προοίμιον τῶν αὐτοῦ λόγων show at the beginning of his

²⁸ *Enc. Bibl.*, s.v. "Gospels," § 71.

ἀκροατὴν μὲν καὶ αὐτόπτην οὐδα-
μῶς ἑαυτὸν γενέσθαι τῶν ἱερῶν
5 ἀποστόλων ἐμφαίνει, παρειληφέναι
δὲ τὰ τῆς πίστεως παρὰ τῶν
ἐκείνοις γνωρίμων διδάσκει, δι' ὧν
φησιν λέξεων.

words that he had heard from
the holy Apostles, or had seen
them. But that he had re-
ceived *words* of the faith from
men that had known the Apos-
tles he teaches in these words,
saying:

Here follows the extract as above; thereafter:

Ἐνθα καὶ ἐπιστῆσαι ἄξιον δις
καταριθμοῦντι αὐτῷ τὸ Ἰωάννου
ὄνομα, ὡν τὸν μὲν πρότερον Πέτρω
καὶ Ἰακώβῳ καὶ Ματθαίῳ καὶ τοῖς
5 λοιποῖς ἀποστόλοις συγκαταλέγει,
σαφῶς δηλῶν τὸν εὐαγγελιστὴν,
τὸν δ' ἕτερον Ἰωάννην, διαστείλας
τὸν λόγον, ἑτέροις παρὰ τὸν τῶν
ἀποστόλων ἀριθμὸν κατατάσσει,
10 προτάξας αὐτοῦ τὸν Ἀριστίωνα,
σαφῶς τε αὐτὸν πρεσβύτερον ὀνο-
μάζει· ὥς καὶ διὰ τούτων ἀποδείκ-
νυσθαι τὴν ἱστορίαν ἀληθῆ τῶν
δύο κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ὁμωνυμίᾳ
15 κεχωρησθαι εἰρηκότων, δύο τε ἐν
Ἐφέσῳ γενέσθαι μνήματα καὶ
ἐκάτερον Ἰωάννου ἔτι νῦν λέγε-
σθαι· οἷς καὶ ἀναγκαῖον προσέχειν
τὸν νοῦν, εἰκὸς γὰρ τὸν δεύτερον,
20 εἰ μὴ τις ἐθέλοι τὸν πρῶτον, τὴν
ἐπ' ὀνόματος φερομένην Ἰωάννου
ἀποκάλυψιν ἑωρακεῖναι. καὶ ὁ νῦν
δὲ ἡμῖν δηλούμενος Παππίας τοὺς
μὲν τῶν ἀποστόλων λόγους παρὰ
25 τῶν αὐτοῖς παρηκολουθηκότων
ὁμολογεῖ παρειληφέναι, Ἀριστίω-
νος δὲ καὶ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου
Ἰωάννου αὐτήκοον ἑαυτὸν φησι
γενέσθαι.^a ὀνομαστὶ γοῦν^β πολ-
30 λάκις αὐτῶν μνημονεύσας ἐν τοῖς
αὐτοῦ συγγράμμασιν τίθησιν αὐ-
τῶν παραδόσεις.

^a Ruf. om. δε, and αὐτηκοον . . .

^β Ruf. unde et.

γενεσθαι.

But here it is requisite for
us to understand that he twice
enumerates the name of John;
the first, he reckons him to-
gether with Peter and James
and Matthew and the rest of
the Apostles, simply pointing
to the Evangelist,^a but the
other John, him he distin-
guishes *by* the word, and *joins*
him in a different way to the
number of the Apostles, and
places Aristo (*sic*) before him;
and him he distinctly calls
“Elder,” so that we show from
this regarding the story that
it is true, of those who said
that there were two in Asia
who had the same name, and
their graves are in Ephesus,
and both to this day are called
John; since it behooves us to
reflect in our mind. For the
Revelation which is called
John’s, if one do not admit
that it is from John the Evan-
gelist, it is probable that it
was manifested to this other
man. But he, this Papias, of
whom we have now given ac-
count, *testifies* that he received
the words of the Apostles from

^a Lond. Syr.: *the evangelists*.

those who were their followers, and^b from Aristo (*sic*) and from the Elder John. *For he said that he had listened to them* and he often mentions them by name, and in his books he records the tradition he received from them.

^b Petersb. Syr., Arm. om.

Now that we have supplied the key to these systematic mistranslations further comment is needless. We only subjoin one further passage as additional proof that the motive is, as stated, to restore to Papias as much as possible of his authority as an ἀρχαῖος ἀνὴρ αὐτήκοος τῶν ἀποστόλων, in spite of Eusebius. It is the famous passage cited by Eusebius in which Irenæus quotes Papias by name.

Ταῦτα δὲ καὶ Παππίας ὁ Ἰωάν-
νον ἀκουστὴς . . . ἐγγράφως ἐπι-
μαρτυρεῖ κτλ.

This Papias also *said*, who
heard (it) from John . . . and
in writing he testifies . . .

To Gutjahr this translation is a God-send, for it makes him a present of the most serious obstacle to his theory, the admitted impossibility of grammatically rendering the passage as if it read καὶ ἐγγράφως, instead of καὶ Παππίας. When S translates, not only does Papias become a direct hearer of John, but Irenæus becomes a direct hearer of Papias, and the strength of the traditional succession is doubled. Hallelujah!

It should be by now sufficiently apparent that Irenæus, Eusebius, S, and Jerome all have the same bent as regards the interpretation of Papias. Eusebius is far more of a scholar, and confesses that the vital point of his contention for "another John in Asia" known to Papias is not supported by the text; but on the question of Papias' chronological rank in the succession of apostolic tradition he has the same propensity and the same prejudice as the rest. Instead of dating his work in A.D. 145-160 as does Harnack, on the basis of the recently recovered de Boor frag-

ment,²⁹ which shows Papias dependent on the *Apology* of Quadratus, instead of recognizing in him a contemporary of Justin Martyr, Eusebius is still under the glamour of the description he had adopted from Irenæus in his *Chronology*. Papias was an ἀρχαῖος ἀνὴρ, a contemporary if not strictly an αὐτήκοος of Apostles, so that those to whom he referred as "the Elders" must be synchronous, if not identical, with "the disciples of the Lord." How much of this idea was due to the textual corruption by which those whom Eusebius assumed to have been Papias' immediate informants were also designated "the disciples of the Lord," we need not pause to estimate. The misconception is certainly present, and a truly dispassionate exegesis of the fragment requires that we take account of the fact. The final step in our inquiry, accordingly, must be an analysis of the extract approached without either of the Eusebian prepossessions as to (a) the closeness of Papias to the Apostles, or (b) his relation to "the Elder John," which, if immediate, would imply that this John also was "in Asia."

We note that Papias "subjoins" Words of the Elders to his "interpretations" in spite of some reason for hesitation (οὐκ ὁκνήσω). They, too, have value as interpreting the "commandments given by the Lord to the faith," although they would not be so esteemed, if the reader did not know how carefully and discriminatingly they had been gathered. For (1) Papias can testify in his own behalf that he had given heed to the twofold warning of Polycarp³⁰ against τὴν ματαιότητα τῶν πολλῶν, as well as τὰς ψευδοδιδασκαλίας. Both these classes of false teaching were already current in

²⁹ Πάπιας ὁ εἰρημένος ἱστορήσεν ὡς παραλαβὼν ἀπὸ τῶν θυγατέρων Φιλίππου, οἱ Βαρσαβᾶς ὁ καὶ Ἰούστος, δοκιμαζόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀπίστων, ἰδὼν ἐχίδνης πῶν ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀπαθῆς διεφυλάχθη. ἱστορεῖ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα θαύματα καὶ μάλιστα τὰ κατὰ τὴν μητέρα Μαννᾶμου τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστᾶσαν. περὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστάντων οἱ εἰς Ἀδριανοῦ ἔζων. Papias seems to have taken Quadratus' statement that some of those who had experienced the miraculous power of Jesus in healing and raising from the dead "lived even to our day" as referring to the day of Hadrian, to whom Quadratus was addressing the *Apology*. At all events, his reference to "the times of Hadrian" implies a date after the close of Hadrian's reign.

³⁰ *Ad. Phil.* vii.; cf. Papias, ll. 6-10.

Papias' youth, but he had kept himself to those who taught the orthodox faith. But (2) he had not confined himself to what these teachers, excellent as they were, could give him, but had sought testimonies of the Apostles themselves. For Papias had also followed the advice of Polycarp in "turning to the tradition handed down from the beginning." But how? Not, of course, by applying directly to the Apostles themselves, as Irenæus and his satellites, ancient and modern, assume. Such a sense for the term "words of the Elders" makes the whole passage ridiculous. Who indeed would "hesitate to subjoin" to his own "interpretations of the Lord's words" the words of Apostles—and apologize for the addition! But the "words of the Elders" are here contrasted not merely with the *ματαιολογία τῶν πολλῶν* and the *ἀλλοτρίαι ἐντολαί* of the Gnostics, but primarily with τὰ ἐκ τῶν βιβλίων, which his own teachers in Asia had given him, but which "did not profit so much." What, then, does Papias mean by "Words of the Elders"? And whence does he get them? If one could depend upon the emendation Οἱ τοῦτῳ μαθηταί for the second Οἱ τοῦ κῦ μαθηταί, all would be plain; for we should then understand that "the Elders" in Papias mean "the disciples of the Apostles" (*οἱ ἐκεῖνων γνώριμοί*), as they are indeed called in several dependent passages.³¹ More particularly he would mean the group in the original mother church and home of the Apostles, to which the author of Luke-Acts and Hegesippus look back as the self-evident authorities in interpreting the Lord's commandments. "Aristion" would be an otherwise unknown member of this Palestinian group, "John the Elder," probably identical with the Jerusalem elder of that name,³² whose death is placed by Epiphanius in 117 A.D.³³

But the emendation is not yet admitted. We must depend on the context.

"The Elder John" is distinguished from the Apostle not merely by the debatable clause and title, but by the tense of the verb. When Papias was making his inquiries the

³¹ See note 21.

³² Euseb. *HE*, IV. v. 3.

³³ *Haer.* lxvi. 20.

Apostles were dead. Many of "the Elders their disciples" were also dead, but Aristion and the Elder John were still alive. For some reason (distance seems to be that implied in *εἴ τις ἔλθοι*) Papias could not interrogate these Elders himself, but followers of theirs who came his way reported to him the teaching they were then still giving. The same chance-comers, or others like them, also reported the sayings of other deceased Elders they themselves had heard. *Such* traditions were to Papias strictly equivalent to teachings of the disciples of the Lord, "Andrew . . . Matthew," as giving the true sense of the Lord's commandments. They could be called "living and abiding," because reported by at least two surviving ear-witnesses. Papias not unreasonably thought them worthy of altogether different consideration from the *ματαιότης* and *ἀλλοτρίαι ἐντολαί* injuriously prevalent in Asia. They even seemed to him of more advantage than the "books" his own local Elders interpreted, for Papias seems to have known no strictly apostolic Gospels for the determination of the real intent of "the oracles of the Lord." What their real value was we have several examples to inform us—the tradition of the woman taken in adultery,³⁴ of Jesus' senior age,³⁵ of the miraculous fertility of the soil in the messianic age,³⁶ of the three degrees in heaven,³⁷ etc.

The interpretation here given to the fragment rests primarily upon the principle that it is unjustifiable to give a fundamentally different sense to the most salient word of the paragraph (*πρεσβύτερος*) in four adjacent clauses, or to draw an arbitrary line between the series of imperfects in which the author describes his preparation for his task (*ἔμαθον, ἔχαιρον, ἀνέκρινον, ὑπελάμβανον*).

It is true that in ll. 6-13 Papias refers to his teachers (*διδάσκουσιν*), who need not necessarily be identical with the "followers of the Elders" (*παρηκολουθηκώς τις τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις*), but to whom we have still less reason to apply the title "the Elders" in l. 2. It is true that he contrasts

³⁴ Euseb. *HE*, III. xxxix. 16.

³⁵ Iren. *Her.* II. xxii. 5.

³⁶ *Ibid.* V. xxxiii. 3.

³⁷ *Ibid.* V. xxxvi. 1, 2.

their simplicity and orthodoxy with the qualities which attracted the crowd. But this is not for the sake of giving the reader confidence in these unknown men, but in the judgment of Papias himself, whose tastes were unlike the multitude's (ἐχαιρον). But why, if Papias' teachers taught him "the truth," "commandments given by the Lord to the faith," does he resort to others? Every reader asks himself the question, and none of those whose hearts are set on the assumption that his teachers were themselves "the Elders" (or even the Apostles!) gives any heed to the answer Papias himself sets down with all explicitness. He questioned travellers who "came his way" *because* only thus could he get "the living and abiding voice" of Apostles, the same which to his mind guaranteed the inerrancy (οὐδὲν ἡμαρτε) of Mark. From chance-comers who had been followers of "the Elders" (the same referred to in l. 2) he inquired what (by the Elders' testimony) the Apostles had said, and what the surviving Elders were saying. He thought he could learn more from these well-authenticated "living" words of the Elders than from his own home teachers, because the latter, excellent as they were, could only give him the contents of books (τὰ ἐκ τῶν βιβλίων).

Who, then, were "the Elders" whose words the chance-comers reported? We have two means of judging. (1) Eusebius tells us that the authorities largely relied on by Papias for this kind of material were the Aristion and John mentioned, the latter of whom is "distinctly called an Elder" to distinguish him from the Apostle of the same name. In the same generation were the daughters of Philip, whose traditions probably also came to Papias at second hand. But these were themselves in Hierapolis, and were not Elders. He does not mean these, nor does he mean Polycarp, whom, if he were not among the teachers who "taught the truth," we should expect to find named. He means a group or class in which neither Polycarp nor the daughters of Philip would naturally be thought of by the reader, but which did include "Aristion and the Elder John." (2) Irenæus preserves for us a number of the traditions in question,

which have indeed a strongly Jewish-Christian and Chiliastic character, but are quite too legendary and artificial to be really derived from Apostles. Their character is that of Jewish midrash, particularly that based on the fanciful interpretation of Gen. 27 28 in the *Apocalypse of Baruch*,³⁸ and the equally fanciful combination of Mt. 13 8 with Mt. 20 28 (β text) to support the doctrine of three degrees in the future abode of the righteous — Heaven, Paradise, and "the City" (*i.e.* Jerusalem).

Both indications concur to prove that "the Elders" in this case were no more Apostles than were Papias' own teachers. The advantage of their words was not their proximity in time to the Apostles, but in place. Their words were brought (ἐάν τις ἔλθοι) from the seat of the "living and abiding voice." Had the chance-comers themselves then actually heard Apostles? This is distinctly negatived by the contrast of tense (τί εἶπεν Ἀνδρέας . . . τί λέγουσιν Ἀριστίνων καὶ Ἰωάννης). They could tell what the Elders *were* saying, and what the Apostles *had* said. Like the Gospels which are and always have been valued both for their authors' own representations, and still more for the "oracles of the Lord" which they embody, were the "words of the Elders" which Papias "subjoined to his own expositions." These words concerned themselves with "what Andrew or what Peter had said, or what Philip, or what Thomas, or James, or what John, or Matthew (for Papias was concerned to defend the Apocalypse and the first Gospel), or any other of the Lord's disciples"; and in so far as in at least two cases the testimonies were "living and abiding" their rank was equivalent to that of the Gospel of Mark.

It is true that Papias includes both elements of this oral gospel of the chance-comers — (*a*) reports of Apostles' sayings, and (*b*) teachings of their own immediate followers — under the single phrase "words of the Elders" (ἀνέκρινον τοὺς λόγους τῶν πρεσβυτέρων), which led those of later times,

³⁸ *Ap. Bar.* xxix. 5. See Rendel Harris in *Expositor*, 1895, pp. 448-449, and R. H. Charles, *Apoc. of Baruch*, p. 55, note.

ignorant of the date of his writing, to the violence of making *πρεσβυτέρων* in ll. 14-15 mean Apostles, while in the adjacent occurrences it was admitted to mean "disciples of these." But if the corruption of text in l. 22 had not occurred, this misunderstanding would have been impossible. I have tried to show that even with it the remaining traces of the chronological distinction enable all who will separate the fragment from the prejudiced ideas of its later reporters to obtain the true sense. It was just because the best teachers in Asia could *not* report save from books (*ἐκ τῶν βιβλίων*) "what Andrew, or Peter, or Philip, or Thomas, or James, or John, or Matthew, or any other of the Lord's disciples had said" that Papias was obliged in his pursuit of "the living and abiding voice" to question "those who came his way."

The Holy City and Gehenna

JAMES A. MONTGOMERY

PHILADELPHIA DIVINITY SCHOOL

I

IT is now coming to be more and more admitted that the Biblical identification of Jerusalem with the seat of the future Paradise had its roots in primitive Semitic conceptions which were also common to the Hebrew people.¹ In describing the reign of the righteous king to come, Isaiah (11 6 ff.) paints in idyllic terms the return of Paradise lost to earth; peace will prevail among beasts, and between them and man.² Even if v. 9 be, with Duhm and others, a later addition, nevertheless the limitation of the new conditions to Yahwe's "holy mount" is doubtless correct exegesis; Isaiah's Messiah is to rule over his own people, while the rest of the world appears to be ignored (cf. 9 1 ff.).

Another set of references may at first sight appear to be alien, namely those which prospect the future exaltation of Zion, so that it will tower above the mountains, or even be the sole peak in the world. The first canonical reference is Isa. 2 2 (= Mic. 4 1): "And it will be in the last days: Established will be the mount of Yahwe on (as?) the top of the mountains, and it will be lifted up higher than (the) hills."³ Likewise Ezekiel, in his last vision, is brought to

¹ See A. Jeremias, *Die babylonisch-assyrischen Vorstellungen vom Leben nach dem Tode*, 1887, p. 121; Gunkel, *Genesis*, 1901, p. 31; *Zum religionsgeschichtlichen Verständnis des Neuen Testaments*, 1903, p. 48; Gressmann, *Der Ursprung der israelitisch-jüdischen Eschatologie*, 1905, p. 221.

² The authenticity of this passage is now denied by many scholars, e.g. Hackmann, *Die Zukunftserwartung des Jesaja*, p. 149; Cheyne, *Introduction to the Book of Isaiah*, p. 61; Marti, *ad loc.* But this skepticism is to be discounted or held in abeyance in view of the new postulates of Gunkel and his school; see Gressmann, *op. cit.* p. 238.

³ Duhm, following the Greek, prefers to read: "The mount of Yahwe,

"a mountain exceedingly high" (Eze. 40 2). And Zech. 14 10 foretells the time when "the whole land will be turned into a steppe, from Geba to Rimmon south of Jerusalem, and it (Jerusalem) will be high" (cf. Rev. 21 10).⁴ With these passages is to be aligned Ps. 48 3: "Mount Zion, the farthest north,⁵ the city of the Great King."⁶ This last passage is to be explained from the preceding ones, and also gives the key for them. Already, in idea, Jerusalem is the mountain of the far north, and evidently the Psalmist is possessed by some mythical notions connected with the sanctuary of his people. The preceding passages, apocalyptic in character, look forward to the time when the mystical ideal will be realized.

It is generally recognized that we have here the myth of the mountain of God, or the gods, in the north, a myth not only common to the Semites, as we shall note below, but appearing also in the Hellenic and Teutonic ideas concerning Olympus and Asgard. It is not necessary to discuss here the origin of the myth: whether it is due to the fact that the mountains, the natural seats of the superior gods, generally lay north of the Semitic lands (as also in southern Europe); or whether the earth was regarded as a great mountain sloping up toward the North Pole, an idea that would be suggested

and the house of (our) God," for which the factor of parallelism speaks. But the Hebrew gives proper rhythmical form, while the expression, "mount of the house of Yahwe" (cf. Mic. 3 12) appears to be antique, reminding us of the Babylonian *E-kur*, "house of the mountain." The absence of the article with "hills" probably requires the sense, "so that it will no more be in the category of hills"; see *BDB*, p. 583 *a*.

⁴ "A steppe," with Nowack and Marti. But ערבה does not have the connotation of a plain, but that of desertedness, hence its specific application to the Ghor; see G. A. Smith, *Historical Geography*¹, p. 657. The translation of the American Revision, "like the Arabah," i.e. the Ghor, is therefore preferable, with the meaning that the land will be lowered to the level of the Ghor.

⁵ Cf. Isa. 14 13, and see below.

⁶ "King" is here a proper name. The expression is not to be compared with the Tyrian מלך קרת (so Baudissin, *PRE*³, xiii. p. 299), but with the title of the Persian monarch, who appears *passim* in Xenophon's *Anabasis* (e.g. i. 4, 11) as βασιλεὺς μέγας, — without the article. This correspondence has been overlooked by the commentators.

by the motion about the axis of the earth, and perhaps corroborated by the southerly course of Mesopotamian and other streams; or whether the first cause is to be found in the astral idea of a hill in the heavens, culminating at the celestial pole.⁷ Various causes probably worked together; whether the gods were earthly or celestial, their seat should be at the highest point for the sake of their control over all the lands.

Two other references prove that this myth of the mountain of the gods was well known to the Hebrews.⁸ The one appears in a dirge entitled "over Babylon," in Isa. 14 4 ff.,⁹ namely v. 13: "And thou saidst in thy heart: To the heavens will I mount, above the stars of El will I rear my throne, and I will sit in the Mount of Assembly in the farthest north." It matters not whether with Jensen¹⁰ we deny that there is any exact Babylonian equivalent to this term, the Mount of Assembly in the north. Babylonian theology shows that the superior place for deity, peculiarly for Anu, king and father of the gods, was at the pole of the northern heavens,¹¹ and comparative mythology reveals the same conception for widely separated peoples. The Mount of Assembly, or rather of Appointment (*rendez-vous*), was the place where the family of divinities gathered, as in the

⁷ For this idea of a celestial mount, see Jensen, *Kosmologie der Babylonier*, p. 16.

⁸ Yet it is to be observed that they both appear in narratives relating to foreign peoples, and are probably in terms of the respective mythologies of the subjects.

⁹ The title is generally admitted to be late, so that the subject could be Assyria, or its king (Sennacherib), and the author Isaiah. See Cobb, *JBL*, 1896, p. 27 ff., who contrasts the opposing views of two such critics as Cheyne and Winckler. See also W. Staerk, *Das assyrische Weltreich im Urtheil der Propheten*, 1908, p. 226. "Nach dem Vorgange von Winckler und Cobb denken jetzt auch Jeremias und Wilke mit Recht an einen *assyrischen* König, und unter diesen kann es sich kaum um andere als Sargon oder Sanherib handeln. . . . Es scheint mir mit Sicherheit hervorzugehen, dass *Sanheribs Tod* der Anlass zu diesem ironischen Klageliede gewesen ist."

¹⁰ *Op. cit.* p. 201; as against Jeremias, *op. cit.* p. 59. Also see Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 558.

¹¹ Jensen, *op. cit.* p. 16.

councils of Olympus.¹² The other passage is the equally famous dirge over the prince of Tyre in Eze. 28, who is thus addressed: "Thou wast in Eden, the garden of God" (v. 13); "thou wast upon the holy mountain of God" (v. 14). Now this mountain of God must be the Hill of Assembly in the farthest north. But the additional and valuable datum in this mythological passage is the combination of the mount of God in the north with Eden or Paradise.

It is not my purpose to discuss the various locations for the original Paradise which appear from the first pages of Genesis down to the latest apocalyptists. Indeed, it would be a vast mistake to attempt any harmonious scheme of these myths. Thus, for the Babylonian the Garden could be in the south, in the direction of ancient sacred Eridu, as in the Gilgamesh epic; for the Israelite in the east, on the basis of a prosaic understanding of the geography of Gen. 2; or it could be associated with the west, as the place of the setting sun, and hence of death.¹³ The association of Eden with the north, the seat of deity, is, I doubt not, based upon a truly religious conception, that of the community of the believer with his god. If Yahwe was wont to walk at evening in the Garden (Gen. 3 8), his habitat, to simple minds, could not have been far off. If there was a dream of a Paradise for chosen men, the Israelite might conceive of an Enoch as taken by Yahwe to himself to his abode in the mystic north. And so just as in the mythological material of Eze. 28, the Prince of Tyre, who appears to be a transformation of the divine Adam Kadmon, had his dwelling in the north, likewise we find an Assyrian king expressing the hope that the gods "have called his race to the abode upon Eḫarsag-kurkura," the possible Babylonian equivalent for the Mount of Assembly.¹⁴ The original seat of gods and

¹² Cf. the Divine Assembly, עֲדַת אֱל, Ps. 82 1, and the Council of the Holy Ones, מִדְּבַר קִדְשִׁים, Ps. 89 8.

¹³ According to Gen. 3 24 (cf. 11 2) Eden lay in the west. For the uncertainty as to its location in the Babylonian mind, see Jeremias, *op. cit.* p. 60.

¹⁴ The quotation, taken from the introduction of Tiglath-Pileser's octagonal cylinder, is given by Jeremias, *op. cit.* p. 98.

the first man in the Mount of the North could thus easily, upon the introduction of spiritual notions concerning immortality, have been regarded as the haven of the elect of the gods when their life here was ended, of kings to the Babylonian mind, of saints to the Hebrew conception.¹⁵

Ancient mythology, then, had already prepared for the combination of the ideas of the Mount of God and Paradise. Yet another combination lay at hand. To the Syrians the local gods were generally mountain-gods (cf. 1 Ki. 20 23), with their sanctuaries on hilltops, as in the case of Zion. So also in their flat plains the Babylonians built their stage-towers, in artificial imitation of natural elevations, and gave to them names which indicated the fanciful representation of them as mountains, even expressive of the thought that they were identical with the mountain of the world, the mount of the gods. It is in line, then, with common Semitic thought when we find Zion identified with the Mount of God in the farthest north, as is so boldly done in Ps. 48 3.¹⁶ How far religious fervor can go in such prejudices is shown by the Samaritan belief that Gerizim actually is the highest mountain of the world, despite the fact that its neighbor Ebal overtops it by 228 ft. Or if the religious mind balked at present hard realities, apocalyptic imagination came to the rescue, and so we find the notion, witnessed to probably by Isaiah, of the future elevation of the holy mount of God to its proper physical superiority over all things that are high.

We possess also a few more details of this notion of the combination of the earthly Jerusalem with Paradise. The most important is that concerning the presence of mystical waters on the holy hill. The Garden, or Mountain, must be well watered, as in the myth of the Eden of the past. The

¹⁵ Notice that, despite the gloominess of the Babylonian notions of the life after death, the "close association of the dead with the gods . . . may be regarded as a legacy of the earliest religion"; so Jastrow, *op. cit.* p. 562. This would certainly go back to the primitive animistic religion, in which the spirits of the dead were regarded as divine.

¹⁶ And of course the psalmist was speaking intelligibly to people who knew what he meant.

first trace of such a mystical notion concerning Jerusalem is found in Isa. 8 6 ff., where the waters of Shiloah (the conduit from the Virgin's Spring) appear as a manifestation of Yahwe's providence. The like mysticism is further developed in Ps. 46 5, in the reference to "a river, whose streams rejoice the city of (God) Yahwe."¹⁷ But, as we saw in the case of Ps. 48 2, this mysticism of faith demanded its apocalyptic consequence, for it is the province of apocalyptic to make the solution between the things which are seen and the things which are not seen. And so Ezekiel is given to see "waters issuing out from under the threshold of the house eastward," and thence proceeding in a mighty stream to sweeten the waters of the Sea of Salt (Eze. 47 1-12); and according to Zech. 14 8, "It will come to pass in that day: living waters will go out of Jerusalem," to "the eastern sea," and to "the western sea." So also Joel 4 18, "A fountain shall come forth from the house of Yahwe."¹⁸ May there also exist a still closer identification of the waters in Jerusalem and those in Eden in the name of Gihon, common to a stream or watercourse in each? And may the Perat (= Euphrates), in whose waters Jeremiah was bidden to hide his girdle (Jer. 13 1 ff.), have been a water-channel in Jerusalem, mystically named after the chief river in the myth?¹⁹

¹⁷ There may also be adduced Duhm's interpretation of נחל עדן in Ps. 36 9, as containing an allusion to Eden (accepted by Gunkel and by Gressmann, who translates, "dein Edenbach"). The passage is parallel to the assertion of the future satisfaction of the saints in the fatness of God's house, while the following verse contains the originally mythical ideas of the fountain of life and the divine light.

¹⁸ This apocalyptic expectation is doubtless based upon the actual spring or reservoir which lies deep below the temple, the Hammâm-eš-Šifâ (Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, 1841, I. p. 508; see Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, I. p. 334).

¹⁹ The difficulty of sending the prophet on a trip to the Mesopotamian Euphrates is evident. Hence Schick has suggested the identification of נחל עדן with the Wâdy Fâra near Anathoth (*ZDPV*, iii. (1880), p. 11). We may notice here that Samaritan legend speaks of "the hidden river Euphrates" on Mount Gerizim; see my *Samaritans*, p. 238. The later Jewish hatred of Babylonia may have prevented the perpetuation of such an idea and name in the Holy City. It may also be observed here that Samaritan belief regards Gerizim as the original seat of Paradise and of the creation of

We find then in the apocalyptic beliefs and hopes concerning Jerusalem the mystical notion that it was the Mount of God and the destined seat of Paradise. Physically the comparatively low hill sadly lacked any correspondence to these fond beliefs. A post-exilic psalmist, in face of the fact that the mountains of the world looked askance upon Jerusalem, had to rest content with the postulate that this is Yahwe's mount (Ps. 68 17). It was therefore the necessary task of apocalyptic to remedy these physical deficiencies; Zion was to be elevated above the mountains, and the waters of the depths were to burst out from under the temple. It is to be observed that in this notion we have the combination of the mountain, the garden, and the city, all which factors are preserved in the New Testament apocalypse (Rev. 21 10 ff.).²⁰ Such a transformed city would be, at the end of days, the home of God's elect. Their felicity is painted on a large canvas in the last odes of Trito-Isaiah. This poet congenially quotes and correctly interprets (65 25) the dream of Isaiah concerning the return of the Golden Age (11 6 ff.). That apocalyptic identified the future Jerusalem with the long-lost Garden of Eden also appears in the assertions of Eze. 36 35 and Isa. 51 3 that "Canaan (or Zion) shall be as the Garden of Yahwe."

With the incoming of the belief in a resurrection these hopes became the property of all the faithful. They would rise to return to the Holy City, whence their corpses had been carried forth without the walls. No wonder is it then that we find the neighborhood of Jerusalem filled with tombs and graves. The exigencies of natural life would have turned the precincts of so ancient a city as Jerusalem

man, and as the only peak which soared above the Flood (*Samaritans*, p. 237 f.). Probably similar ideas were current concerning Jerusalem. The Samaritans, like the Jews, identify their holy mountain with the future Paradise. Robinson quotes a traditional saying of Mohammed: "The rock es-Sukhrah at Jerusalem is one of the rocks of Paradise" (*op. cit.* i. 444). Also see note 54.

²⁰ The garden, or oasis, is the nomad's ideal of Paradise, the city that of the townsman, while the mountain preserves the ancient myth of the seat of deity.

into one vast graveyard, while pious belief found a virtue in the necessity.²¹ The most desirable place of burial was the city itself, and here originally kings, and doubtless other magnates, were interred; such interments, which seem to have been immediately adjacent to the sanctuary, were forbidden by Ezekiel's programme (Eze. 43 7 ff.). Jeremias describes a Babylonian city like Nippur as composed of three parts: the city or temple of the god, the city of the living, and the city of the dead;²² the same observation might be made concerning Jerusalem and its vicinity. Indeed, we involuntarily compare this city, rising sheer above the deep gorges to the east and the south, which are tenanted by the dead, with the Babylonian conception of *E-kur*, "the mountain-house," i.e. of the world, which is represented as a mountain, beneath which lies Aralû, the Babylonian Sheol.²³ Even without the hope of a resurrection it must have implied some benefit to be buried near the sanctuary, just as all matters of funerary ceremony were of deepest concern to the dead. The proximity of sanctuary and burial-place and the combination, almost identification, of *E-kur* with Aralû, sprang from certain pious hopes of the ancients.²⁴ But all

²¹ See Baedeker, *Syrien und Palästina* 5, pp. 92 ff., for the tombs around Jerusalem.

²² A. Jeremias, *Hölle und Paradies bei den Babyloniern*, p. 13. Compare a remark of Hilprecht's that it was "only natural that the earliest inhabitants should bury their dead around the base of the *ziggurat* of Nippur to a depth of thirty to forty feet, so that the latter appears to us almost like a huge sepulchral monument," etc. (*Explorations in Bible Lands*, p. 465). However, it appears that little definite knowledge exists about the Babylonian burial of the dead in relation to the sanctuary.

²³ See Jastrow, *op. cit.* chap. xxv. Jeremias' suggested identification of Ariel, Isa. 29 1, etc., with Aralû (*Vorstellungen von dem Leben nach dem Tode*, p. 123) has not been accepted, but the suggestion is based upon a substantial correspondence. In connection with the reference to *E-kur*, which is at once the abode of the gods and of the dead, we may note the at least verbal correspondence between *הר מועד*, the Mount of Assembly (Isa. 14 18), and the epithet for Sheol as *בית מועד לכל חי*, "the house of assembly for all living" (Job 30 23).

²⁴ The hope of Ps. 36 9, "For with thee is the well of life, and in thy light shall we see light" (cf. Isa. 31 9), might have been felt by those who expected burial near Zion, even without the hope of a resurrection. The

this meant far more when the hope of the resurrection came in. Those who were fortunate enough to lie buried under the walls of Jerusalem should but rise and enter the Holy City. Perhaps selfish notions of "first come, first served" were no more lacking to ancient Judaism than to modern popular Christianity. The legend in Mt. 27 51 ff. of the saints who were raised by the earthquake coincident with the Lord's death, and who came into the city after his resurrection, naturally refers to those buried in the neighborhood of Jerusalem. The Mount of Olives became the choice cemetery for the Jews, the whole slope of the hill facing Jerusalem being now covered with Jewish graves.²⁵ This site has gained increased favor among the Jews by reason of a Rabbinic tradition, based upon the apocalyptic description in Zech. 14 4 of the rending of the Mount of Olives. The former passage reads:²⁶ "When the dead shall come to life again, the Mount of Olives shall be rent in two, and all the dead of Israel will come out from under it; yea, those righteous persons who died in captivity will be rolled under the earth, and will come forth from under the Mount of Olives." By such a fond device of the imagination were the fears of those who died in foreign lands allayed.

II

But in contrast with the felicity of the Holy City there lies, according to Jewish tradition, right under its walls the very place of the hell of the wicked, namely the Valley (of the Son, or Sons) of Hinnom. This geographical term, as *גֵּיהֶנְנוֹם* or *גֵּהֶנְנוֹם* alone,²⁷ in the Rabbinical literature, *Γέεννα*²⁸ *Gehenna*, *Jahannam* in the Arabic, has become a more or

application of such a verse to hopes of a joyful immortality is not without exegetical justification.

²⁵ See Baedeker, p. 97. Also on the same hill was celebrated the sacrifice of the red heifer, originally a mortuary sacrifice.

²⁶ Targum, on Song of Songs, 8 5, ed. Lagarde.

²⁷ *Erubin*, 19 a, *bis*, as hell, in distinction from Gehinnam, as the geographical locality; see Schwally, *Das Leben nach dem Tode*, p. 143.

²⁸ For the occurrence of *Γέεννα* in the apocalyptic literature, see Volz, *Jüdische Eschatologie*, p. 289.

less dominant name for the hell of the wicked in all the three religions which trace their traditions back to the Old Testament.

It is not necessary to discuss here at length the identifications of the Valley of Hinnom, — whether it be the Kidron Valley, that of the Tyropœon, or the Wâdy-er-Rabâbi. As Warren says:²⁹ "Whatever view is taken of the position of the valley of Hinnom, all writers concur in its extending to the junction of the three valleys of Jerusalem below Siloam, *i.e.* there must be one spot below Siloam which all agree in making a portion of the Valley of Hinnom." Now it appears from all the traditions that it was at least with the neighborhood of this point that the notion of hell was connected. The earliest evidence for this localization of Gehenna is *Enoch*, ch. 26 f., a passage which appears to have been generally overlooked in the geographical discussions of our point, although in it we are given a bit of real geography.³⁰ The seer comes to the middle (*i.e.* the navel) of the earth: "There I saw a holy mount, and under the mount a water (*i.e.* Siloam), which flowed to the east of it in a southerly direction. Toward the east I saw another mountain much higher than this one (*i.e.* the Mount of Olives), between them a deep and narrow valley (*i.e.* Kidron), and through it ran a stream below the mount. West from this was another mountain (*i.e.* the Mount of Evil Counsel), lower than that and not high; between them was a deep and dry valley, and another deep and dry valley lay at the end of the three mountains. All valleys are deep," etc. "Then I said: To what purpose is this blest land, which is full of trees, and to what purpose this accurst valley in the midst?" He learns that it is the abode of the rebels against God, and that here "in the last time they will serve as a drama of a righteous judgment before the righteous for all eternity," etc.³¹ There is some confusion in the description of the

²⁹ Hastings, *Dict. of the Bible*, s.v. Hinnom, ii., p. 385 b.

³⁰ I observe that Dalman notices it in his article *Gehenna*, in *PRE*³.

³¹ From G. Beer's translation, in Kautzsch, *Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen*, ii. p. 255, with adoption of his geographical identifications.

valleys, but their centre of gravity, the place of perdition, is the valley that "lay at the end of the three mountains," i.e. the point of confluence of the valleys around Jerusalem. This place would then be the end of the Kidron valley, the head of the Wâdy en-Nâr which continues it.³²

Further, according to Jerome, Tophet, the seat of the Melek cult, "is watered by the springs of Siloam";³³ and Eusebius connects Tophet with Akeldama,³⁴ which tradition places on the slope of the Mount of Evil Counsel. For our present purpose, then, it is sufficient to note that Gê-Hinnôm, so far as it connotes the Melek cult of the Old Testament and the hell of later theology, is connected with the conjunction of the valleys to the south of the eastern hill.³⁵

But how did this Valley of Hinnom become the seat of hell to the Jewish imagination? The question cannot be said to have been adequately answered. With the common sense which often characterizes Jewish commentators, Kimchi says³⁶ that the place was the dump of the city, where fires were always kept burning to destroy the refuse; "therefore the judgment of the wicked is parabolically called Gehenna." But from the Biblical references the place appears to have had nothing physically objectionable about it; in contrast to its contemporary condition Jeremiah prophesied that it would one day be called "Valley of Slaughter" (7 32), and Jerome speaks of it as *amoenus atque nemorosus hodieque hortorum praebebat delicias*.³⁷ Or it has been supposed that the sacrificial fires of Melek which burned in that place were taken by the Jews as typical of the fiery torments of

³² Warren, *l.c.*, includes this wady and the Kidron under the common term Gê-Hinnôm; hence נַחַל would apply to the whole gorge, נָחַל to the upper Kidron alone.

³³ *Comm. in Jer.* 7 31.

³⁴ *Onom.* s.v. Θαφθ.

³⁵ May we explain the King's Vale, עֵמֶק הַמֶּלֶךְ, Gen. 14 17, 2 Sam. 18 18, as the Vale of Melek? Warren in the article cited, p. 388 a, is inclined to locate this place at the conjunction of the valleys, and defends the use of עֵמֶק from Jer. 31 39.

³⁶ On Ps. 27, cited by Driver, Hastings, *DB*, ii. p. 119.

³⁷ *Comm. in Jer.* 7 31.

hell; so Robinson: "It was probably in allusion to this detested and abominable fire that the later Jews applied the name of this valley (Gehenna), to denote the place of future punishment or the fires of hell."³⁸ Here, then, would be an instance of the sardonic Hebrew humor which so easily found innuendoes in the words and things of God's enemies to the confusion of the latter; the turning of Melek's fires into those of hell was hoisting the enemy with his own petard. Dalman is inclined to deduce the combination of Gê-Hinnôm with the fires of hell from Isa. 30 33, with its threat of the *tophet* prepared for the king of Assyria.³⁹ But serious dogmas, like those concerning hell, could not have been developed from accidental relations, or have been built upon solitary Biblical passages or *jeux d'esprit*. Schwally⁴⁰ gives as two reasons for the localization of hell near Jerusalem the desire to unite them both at the middle point, the navel, of the earth, and the purpose to provide for the saints the spectacle of the torments of the damned.⁴¹ These reasons catch the spirit of Jewish eschatology, but are inadequate to explain why Gê-Hinnôm became Gehenna. The proper method is first of all to examine if the latter idea may not be traced back to notions and myths connected with the Valley of Hinnom from primitive times.

To begin at the widest circle and to work in toward the centre, we first examine the general geography of the vicinity of Jerusalem. For just as the hill nature of Jerusalem helped to identify that city with the mythical Mount of God in the north (far better than was the case for the

³⁸ *Op. cit.* i. 404; so also Baudissin, *PRE*³, xiii. p. 281.

³⁹ *PRE*³, vi. p. 419.

⁴⁰ *Op. cit.* p. 142.

⁴¹ Hell is generally, with good reason, placed at a long distance from Paradise, unless some deeply founded tradition unites them. The more general notion of the wide separation of the two places is combined with the localization of hell in the Valley of Hinnom by the later Jewish tradition through the dictum that this place contained one of the gates of hell. The primitive Jewish juxtaposition of Paradise and hell is revived in the Kabala, — only a wall dividing the two; but here hell has become an intermediate purgatory (Weber, *Jüdische Theologie*, p. 341).

identification of the low ziggurats of Babylonia with the Mountain of the World), so the physical contour and character of the country surrounding Jerusalem may have contributed to localizing hell in the same vicinity.

Now Jerusalem is by nature a forepost toward the desert. Lines drawn therefrom to Jericho, and through Bethlehem to Hebron and beyond, mark off a veritable chaos of nature: rugged and barren hills, horrible gorges,—the wilderness of Judah,⁴² and at the bottom the most ill-omened lake in the world, the Sea of Salt, the Lake of Pitch. The country to the east and the south of Jerusalem must have affected the conceptions of the Jerusalemites in much the same way as the desert to the west of the Babylonians colored the mythology of the latter, to whose eyes this desert was the home of all evil demons.⁴³ In general, the desert was the continuation of the primeval chaos, with which the doctrine of a hell of the damned is genetically connected.⁴⁴ It is not strange to find that the Jews were led to place their hell next door to the Holy City, in the region so appropriate to that horrid idea. Indeed, if the new Jerusalem was to restore the actual conditions of primitive Paradise, then just without its gates should lie the uncultivated wastes of the earth—the like of those into which an Adam or a Cain was driven. In general, the eschatological expectations of a formal nature (Eze. 47 f.; Zech. 14 10) looked for a reconstitution of the whole of the Holy Land, whereby it would be made altogether fertile and habitable. But the less systematic schemes for the future probably left the rest of the world out of consideration, the holy mount alone being the objective of pious hopes; Jerusalem would stand in the midst of the chaos which surrounded it, that region “without,” where according to Rev. 22 15 all evil things will have their habitat. Thither “those who escape” would be gathered, as

⁴² For a description of this rarely explored country and a register of its early monasteries, which arose here as naturally as in the Nitrian desert, see the notes of Schick, as presented by Marti in *ZDPV*, iii. pp. 1 ff.

⁴³ Jeremias, *Hölle und Paradies*, pp. 14, 18.

⁴⁴ Compare the Book of Revelation with the Babylonian legends of creation.

to the sole haven of refuge (Joel 3 5). Thus both mythology and geographical conditions contributed to the localization of hell close by the final Paradise, and the dramatic unity obtained for the *dénouement* of the eschatological drama is based on long-standing notions.

More than one point exhibits the uncanny nature of Jerusalem's vicinity. To the east was the seat of the demon Azazel,⁴⁵ who in the later apocalyptic is identified with Satan and ranks as prince of hell.⁴⁶ Into this same wilderness Jesus was led up to be tempted by the devil and to have fellowship with the wild beasts. Here St. Saba had his adventure with the lion, and his monastery remains a penitentiary for recalcitrant monks.⁴⁷ The Dead Sea, remarkably enough, has left but slight traces on Old Testament eschatology; directly, it appears only in the repeated warnings drawn from the fate of Sodom and Gomorrah. The references to pitch and sulphur as factors in the day of judgment (*e.g.* Isa. 30 33 34 9) are doubtless drawn from the horrors of that body of water. Its first direct connection with the idea of hell appears in *Enoch* 67 4 ff., where, with a grim play on their warm baths in its neighborhood, it is assigned as the future place of torment for the magistrates of the earth. In Rev. 20 10 the Dead Sea is the prototype of the hellish lake of fire and brimstone. We also recall Renan's emendation of עִמְקֵי הַשְּׂדֵיִם, Gen. 14 13, into עֵי הַשְּׂדֵיִם, the Valley of Demons.⁴⁸

To the southwest of Jerusalem lay another mystical region, the Valley of Rephaim, now generally identified with the valley leading toward Bethlehem, although it may have been the vale to the west of the city. The place may have been associated with some form of the primitive myth of the Titans,⁴⁹ who are always represented as in conflict with

⁴⁵ According to *Yoma*, vi. 8, at Beth Hadudo, identified by Schick with the modern Bet-hudedon (*ZDPV*, iii. pp. 214 ff.).

⁴⁶ Volz, *op. cit.* pp. 76 ff., 285, 291.

⁴⁷ Baedeker, pp. 179 f.

⁴⁸ *Histoire du peuple d'Israël*⁹, i. p. 116. For the "local coloring" of Jewish eschatology drawn from this region, see Gressmann, *op. cit.* pp. 38 ff.

⁴⁹ The Rephaim were a gigantic folk, Dt. 2 20 f.

the creator God. These fabulous beings appear in Gen. 6 4.⁵⁰ This valley may reasonably be identified with Joel's Valley of Jehoshaphat, and Valley of Decision (Joel 4 2. 12. 14), in which should be enacted the eschatological antitype of the original struggle between Yahwe and his adversaries.⁵¹ Certainly Joel cannot have created absolutely new terms in these mystic references; he must have been speaking to current beliefs.⁵² Hence we may connect the whole of the Armageddon series of traditions with the ancient mythical associations of the Valley of Rephaim.

Approaching closer to the objective of our argument, we come upon the deep gorges that lie under Jerusalem to the east and south. If, as argued above, Zion became identified with the mythical Mount of God, then naturally those deep ravines would have suggested Sheol, lying at the roots of the Mountain of the World.⁵³ In these ravines reposed untold numbers of the city's dead, rejoicing in their proximity to the joys of the Last Days, or expecting their resurrection and reëntrance into the glorified life of the Holy City. The very geography of Jerusalem and its vicinity suggested the spatial relations of heaven and Sheol, which are naturally opposed as relatively above and below.

⁵⁰ The so-called Kuthæan legend of creation (King, *Seven Tablets of Creation*, i. pp. 140 ff.) has been interpreted as referring to a brood of Titans, suckled by Tiāmat; see A. Jeremias, *s.v. Nergal*, in Roscher's *Lexicon*, col. 266. But King rightly denies that we have here a myth of creation or the deluge.

⁵¹ Cheyne (*Enc. Bib.* ii, p. 2383) thinks that this identification is possible. The term *עמק* cannot refer to the upper Kidron gorge, while a broad valley would be necessary for the development of the contending forces in the great struggle. The Valley of Rephaim was a classic battlefield, the scene of David's annihilation of the Philistine power (2 Sam. 5). Against this identification is the connection made between the Mount of Olives and Yahwe's appearing for judgment in Zech. 14 s f. But there may have been various local myths.

⁵² So with Gressmann, *op. cit.* p. 187, against the commentators on Joel.

⁵³ I find, after the completion of this paper, that my argument in this respect has been briefly sketched by Halévy in the *Revue archéologique*, nouvelle série, xl. (1882), p. 52. His argument seems to have been overlooked, so that my development of the same idea may not be idle repetition.

At the deepest point below Jerusalem, where those two ravines unite to form the fearful gorge which leads down past the monastery of Mar Saba to the Dead Sea, Jewish theology located the mouth of the hell of the wicked, which took its name Gehenna from that locality.⁵⁴ It seems as if it required but the introduction of the notion of an ethical discrimination in the fate of the dead⁵⁵ for a people like the Jews, sternly moral and full of hatred toward sinners, to locate somewhere in the uncanny neighborhood of their holy city the very place for the wicked dead. It may have arisen out of a poetic naturalism that this hell was located at the deepest point in this region, just south of Jerusa-

⁵⁴ We may note the different tradition that is contained in *Erubin*, 19 a: "There are three gates to Gehenna: one in the desert, and one in the sea, and one in Jerusalem." The latter point is then proved from Isa. 31 a. With this notion is to be compared the tradition in the Mishna, *Yoma*, v. 2, of the stone which was in the Holy of Holies, since the time that the ark was carried away, and which was called Foundation (תִּיבָה). Strack, *ad loc.*, adduces Targum Yerushalmi to Ex. 28 30, which speaks of this stone as the one with which God stopped up the mouth of the great deep at the beginning of things. This is a repetition of the E-kur theme, and is a trace of the legend which appears in Ezekiel and Zechariah concerning the waters which will well forth from under the temple. The stone is doubtless es-Sakhra, and again we may compare a Biblical reference: "Behold I lay in Zion for a foundation a stone, a tried stone, a precious corner-stone of sure foundation" (Isa. 28 16). As in the case of the waters of Shiloah, the prophet is making mystical use of popular ideas. Barclay in his *City of the Great King*, pp. 498 f., tells of the Muslim legend that in the hollow under the Sakhra is the Well of Souls, which was formerly kept open in order to hold intercourse with spirits. (Also see Baedeker, p. 45.) Thus we find all grades of ideas relating to the lower world connected with this stone. Among the Haram cisterns Schick enumerates the Bir el-Janne, i.e. that of Paradise (*Die Stifftshütte und der Tempel*, p. 302).

⁵⁵ The date of the rise of such a notion may no longer be dogmatically assigned to a late period; it is altogether doubtful whether such doctrines can be submitted to dates. Note the fate of the figure in Isa. 14 19, and the picture of the condition in Hades of the uncircumcised nations, Eze. 32 17 ff. These representations are mythological in form, hence far older than the dates of the compositions in question. For the approach of the Babylonian religion toward the same theory, see Jeremias, *Vorstellungen*, p. 75 f.; *Hölle und Paradies*, pp. 16, 32 (although other scholars, like Jastrow and Zimmermann, differ in this from Jeremias). Popular notions must always have preceded the adoption of such tenets into the formal theology; see Schwally, *op. cit.* p. 151.

lem; ⁵⁶ likewise the lower one goes the worse is the hell, *e.g.* Isa. 14 19, where the wicked king is thrust down under the dead to the bottom of the pit.⁵⁷ But was it mere accident that this chosen spot was also the site of the worship of Melek, the King-god?

It is not necessary to treat at length the theme of Melek, which has called forth elaborate and well-nigh exhaustive discussions.⁵⁸ But I would call attention to a suggestion made by Gressmann⁵⁹ which gives the key to the character of that deity, at least with respect to his aspect in the cult of the Valley of Hinnom. Gressmann describes Melek as "a chthonic firegod." The definition illuminates two of our problems. It explains the characteristically fiery⁶⁰ and inhuman nature of the Melek cult, which is vouched for in widely separated parts of the Phœnician world. And it explains why this worship was celebrated in particular at the site which is so repulsive to the Old Testament mind; namely, at the opening of the gorge leading down to the Dead Sea, a place fit for the rites of a subterranean deity.⁶¹ In this connection we observe the fact, generally ignored in the discussions of the subject,⁶² that this gorge, which is the continuation of the river bed of the Kidron, is now called the Wâdy en-Nâr, the Valley of Fire. The name may be an Arabic creation based upon the Jewish traditions connected with the locality, "fire" being the well-known Muslim equivalent for "hellfire." But it may possibly be a survival

⁵⁶ Not only is hell generally pictured as a valley in the Jewish apocalyptic (Volz, *op. cit.* p. 289), but the same is also true of the Persian eschatology.

⁵⁷ The picture is taken from the burial *en masse* of the enemies slain on a battlefield.

⁵⁸ See especially Moore, *s.v.* *Molech*, in *Enc. Bib.*, and Baudissin, *s.v.* *Moloch*, in *PRE³*.

⁵⁹ *Op. cit.* p. 34.

⁶⁰ His worship required a *tophet* (?), *i.e.* a pyre.

⁶¹ The mysteries which according to Isa. 57 *s* were celebrated in valleys and caves are probably to be located here. In Græco-Roman mythology we may compare the cave Avernus in the volcanic neighborhood of Cumæ and the deep rift on the slope of Areopagus, where were celebrated the rites of Pluton; see Roscher's *Lexicon*, *s.v.* *Hades*, col. 1790.

⁶² I see that the suggestion has already appeared in Baedeker, p. 100.

of the ancient name of the gorge, and so have been originally connected with the local Melek cult and ideas.⁶³

The chthonic nature of this deity is also set forth in his name; he is a King, and that, too, with more real meaning than is implied in the kingship of a celestial god, for all men at last become his subjects. This idea is preserved in the Old Testament, where death appears as "the king of terrors" (Job 18 13). So also Nergal, the chthonic god of the Babylonians, has for his standing title the paronomasia Ne-urugal, "lord of the great world," *i.e.* of Hades. He is given the title "king" (šarru) in the phrases, "king of the abyss," "king of the river," "king of the water-house," all with reference to his underworld domain.⁶⁴ Also the primitive feminine deity Allatu, who doubtless preceded Nergal in general acceptance, appears as "Queen Allatu."⁶⁵ One striking verbal correspondence connecting the Palestinian Melek with the Babylonian ideas of hell is found in Isa. 57 9: "And thou travellest (?) to the King (*lammelek*) with oil, and makest many thy perfumes; and thou sendest thy ambassadors afar (עַד מְרוֹחִים), yea, deep down to Sheol." The Hebrew phrase quoted is identical with the Babylonian *ana iršitim rûkti*, used of Hades.⁶⁶ Also in the Greek mythology Hades is King *par excellence*, and his emblem is the scepter.⁶⁷

That the king of the lower world was associated with the element of fire, as so peculiarly in the Melek cult, was doubtless due to the observation of physical phenomena in volcanic and bituminous regions. Kutha may have been

⁶³ Perhaps in Mâlik, who appears in the Koran as the prince of hell (Sûra xliii. 77), we have the trace of the ancient Arabian cult of Melek.

⁶⁴ Jeremias, *Vorstellungen*, p. 67. Of course correspondence with Melek in the Babylonian is not to be sought in the theme MLK, but in the corresponding name for royalty. Thus Baudissin's argument that no Babylonian god corresponds to the Canaanitish Melek is almost purely philological (*op. cit.* p. 274).

⁶⁵ Šarrat, *e.g.* in Ishtar's Descent to Hades, lines 24, 25, 28. Her name, or that of her double, Erishkigal, means Mistress of the Great Land.

⁶⁶ Passages are cited by Jensen, *op. cit.* p. 226; Jeremias, *op. cit.* p. 64.

⁶⁷ Roscher's *Lexicon*, s.v. *Hades*, col. 1780.

the site of some such manifestation, which gave character to its local deity Nergal. No igneous traces are found in the Kidron Valley, but this lack is indifferent; the volcanic regions to the south and east of Palestine, the hot springs in that land, especially in the neighborhood of the Dead Sea, would naturally have associated the subterranean deity with the element of fire.⁶⁸ To be sure, the custom of sacrificing human victims as holocausts to Melek would not prove that Melek was a fire-god, for fire was the usual medium of sacrifice. But when we take into consideration the points suggested above, and also the early Jewish association of a fiery hell with Melek's cult in the Valley of Hinnom, we are irresistibly drawn to the conclusion that the fire of his sacrifices was peculiarly characteristic of his nature. Moore holds⁶⁹ that the victim was always first slain and then burnt; but I cannot see that the testimony to this point is "abundant and unambiguous." The *tophet*, the pyre, recalls an Indian suttee, and there may have been some merit in a sacrifice which caused the victims to pass, as it were, alive into the domain of the god who claimed them.⁷⁰ Many other qualities than those of hideous kind doubtless originally belonged to Melek; he combined therewith the character of god of fertility, according to the usual double nature of chthonic deities, *e.g.* Nergal, Pluto-Pluton. But these benevolent characteristics may have been usurped by the Baals and by Yahwe, finally leaving to Melek the awful qualities alone. In the special local cult we are now concerned with, the wild character of the lower Kidron gorge may have peculiarly brought about there this specialization of his functions.

The question of the identity of Melek and Yahwe has been frequently and elaborately discussed.⁷¹ Their original

⁶⁸ See Gressmann, *op. cit.* p. 6.

⁶⁹ *Op cit.* col. 3184 f.

⁷⁰ Cf. the "going down alive into Sheol" of Korah and his company, Num. 16 31.

⁷¹ See the bibliography in Baudissin's article, p. 269, and also p. 295, and Nowack, *Lehrbuch der hebräischen Archäologie*, p. 306. The former minimizes to the utmost the identification of Yahwe and Melek, but it is difficult

identity is now no longer claimed. If we follow our clue, we find them on the whole distinguished in this that Yahwe is a celestial, meteorological deity; Melek is terrestrial, chthonic. Fiery characteristics are indeed common to both, but then these belong equally to the two spheres of sky and earth. Hence we may not adduce, in the effort at comparison between Yahwe and Melek, those passages in which Yahwe is described as a light and a flame, *e.g.* Isa. 10 17 30 27 ff. 31 9.⁷² In his original theophany to Israel on Horeb he appears as a volcanic god;⁷³ but in this and in his manifestations as a pillar of fire, and his seraphs (the lightnings), he is rather a celestial than a terrestrial deity. Likewise in his visitation of Sodom and Gomorrah he rained fire and brimstone upon them from heaven; the Melek doctrine would probably have emphasized subterranean fires. Exceptions to this general distinction are the Burning Bush, and the process of fire from Yahwe in Num. 16 35. That there was an assimilation of the two deities in Canaan cannot be doubted; the closer Yahwe approached to solity in the belief of his people, the more would the cults of the other deities be pressed into his service, except for the restraining influences of conservatism or reform.

In this connection we may notice the obscure passage, Isa. 30 33, in which the notion of Yahwe is combined with the sphere of ideas belonging to Melek. The verse reads: "For a pyre (הַמִּזְבֵּחַ) is already prepared; yea, for the King it is made ready, — deep and wide; the pile thereof is fire and much wood; the breath of Yahwe like a river of brim-

to resist the arguments advanced by other scholars, *e.g.* Moore, that the Melek sacrifices were offered to Yahwe. However, this does not prove original identity or similarity.

⁷² On the other hand, Nergal combines within himself both celestial and terrestrial attributes. I may cite here, as reminiscent of the notions connected with Nergal, Hab. 3 5: "Before him goes the pestilence (דִּבְרָא, cf. Dibbarra), and fares forth the thunderbolt at his feet."

⁷³ See Gunkel, *Deutsche Lit. Ztg.*, 1903, col. 3058 f.; Bewer, *Stud. u. Krit.* 1904, pp. 469 ff.; E. Meyer, *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*, p. 69. According to a note of Cheyne's in *Traditions and Beliefs of Ancient Israel*, p. 528, the traveller Beke appears to have been the first to make this suggestion.

stone kindles it." It is most attractive to identify "the King" with Melek,⁷⁴ but the context undoubtedly implies the king of Assyria.⁷⁵ At all events the former interpretation is true in finding a reference to the Melek cult in the use of the words "pyre" and "the king." An interpretation satisfying the text and the context may be gained by supposing that the prophet is making sardonic use of ideas and terms connected with Melek. He has turned the dative of the phrase appropriate to that cult, "a pyre prepared for Melek,"⁷⁶ into a *dativus incommodi*, and so applies it to the Assyrian king. And there is yet further connection with the Melek theology, for the reference is not to a secular pyre, but to a mystical fire of torment, the fire of hell. The king of Assyria would then be, like the prince of Tyre (Eze. 28), and the incarnate figure in Isa. 14, the representative of his people, who, like the latter, is to suffer punishment in hell. If this interpretation be correct, and the passage be Isaianic, we have in it the earliest Biblical reference to hellfire.⁷⁷ We must suppose that the Melek cult in the neighborhood of Jerusalem exerted a powerful impression upon the Hebrew imagination, if the prophet Isaiah could use its terms in this free fashion.

I have already touched upon some correspondence between Melek and Nergal in the respective mythologies of Canaan and Babylonia. May we go still further, and assert that Melek was Nergal, and that his cult is the lineal descendant of the worship of Nergal in the neighborhood of Jerusalem?⁷⁸ Zimmern has broached the possibility of Nergal's influence upon the Jewish conception of hell, although with-

⁷⁴ So Cheyne, *Isaiah* ³; Delitzsch, *Jesaja* ⁴; Kittel-Dillmann ⁶, Gressmann, *op. cit.* p. 39.

⁷⁵ So Delitzsch ³, Dillmann, and apparently Moore, *op. cit.* p. 3186.

⁷⁶ The same verb is used of the erection of an altar, *e.g.* Ezra 3 *a*.

⁷⁷ Cheyne, in his *Introduction to Isaiah*, pp. 199 ff. (following Guthe, Smend, and Hackmann), considers vv. 27-33 to be post-exilic. Duhm holds that נִסְּחָה לְמֶלֶךְ is a gloss; but his metrical argument is not convincing. Marti observes that the notion of Gehenna is presented here, and therefore argues that the passage cannot be earlier than the second century.

⁷⁸ For traces of the Nergal cult in Syria, see Jeremias, in *PRE* ³, s.v. *Nergal*.

out reference to Melek. He says:⁷⁹ "It is very probable that the figure of the Babylonian god of the kingdom of death and of *Fiebergut* has in many respects to be regarded as the prototype of the late Jewish god of hell, who was simply taken over by Christendom, though withal other figures, such as that of the Persian Ahriman, may have coöperated. Especially also the representation of hellfire could easily be deduced from this, that Nergal, the god of the kingdom of death, was thought of at the same time as the god of the glowing heat of the sun, of *Fiebergut*, as a raging firegod."

The hypothesis of the one time identity of the Canaanite Melek of the Valley of Hinnom and of Nergal would be attractive. We recall that Nergal's double, the solar deity Ninib, possessed, in the Tell-Amarna period, a shrine in or near Jerusalem.⁸⁰ That Nergal, the god of the baneful southern sun, should also have had his rites in the same neighborhood, is not unlikely, and the gorge of Hinnom may well have been their site.⁸¹ In this case Zimmern's suggestion would be approved; the notion of Gehenna would go back genetically and locally to the cult of the Babylonian firegod, transported in early days to Canaan. How-

⁷⁹ *KAT*³, p. 415.

⁸⁰ Winckler's edition of the Letters, no. 185. Haupt holds (*SBOT, Joshua*, Eng. tr. p. 54) that Bit-Ninib is Jerusalem; this is against the interpretation of Winckler and Knudtzon, and also of Zimmern, *KAT*³, p. 411. We may note Clay's recent valuable discovery of the equation of Ninib and En-Martu, the Lord of the Westland (*Journ. Am. Or. Soc.* xxviii, p. 135). There may be a survival of the god's cult in the horses of the sun dedicated by the kings of Judah, 2 Ki. 23 11, and in the sacrosanct eastern gate of the temple in Ezekiel's programme, the east appearing to have been Ninib's special domain (see Jensen, *op. cit.* p. 457). The pig, which was sacrificed by renegades after the Exile (Isa. 65 + 66 a), was sacred to Ninib (see *KAT*³, p. 409 f.).

⁸¹ The original chthonic nature of Nergal is maintained by Barton (*Semitic Origins*, p. 216), as against Jensen, Jastrow, and Zimmern. Barton's reasonable hypothesis would increase the likeness between Nergal and Melek. The chief objection against it is the myth of Nergal's overcoming and marrying Erishkigal, which would point to a translation of the former to the lower world. This myth, however, may have syncretistic origin, explaining how the local chthonic god of Kutha became the god of Hades in the pantheon.

ever, there is no reason to doubt that the latter land possessed its own chthonic firegod, and we need go no farther than to suppose that Babylonian theology may have influenced the Melek cult.⁸²

It appears, then, to the writer that the Jewish theologoumenon of Gehenna may be regarded as autochthonous and original, so far as these adjectives may be applied to any religious ideas. We have seen that in the deep gorge below Jerusalem was worshipped a fierce nature deity, of chthonic, fiery character. The site of the cult was within the great mortuary district of the Holy City, and Melek was the king of the dead. Moreover, the region was one admirably fitted by nature and myth for an Inferno corresponding to the earthly Paradise of the future Jerusalem. How early the notion of the relation between Melek's element of fire and the pains of hell came in, cannot be ascertained. The earliest possible reference thereto is Isa. 30 33, belonging to the eighth century B.C. The pains of hell also appear in Deutero-Isaiah (Isa. 50 11): "In pain ye will couch." Our knowledge of Babylonian theology concerning the lower world is too fragmentary either to throw light upon Babylonian ideas on the subject, or, by comparison, to infer the theology prevalent in Canaan. There can be little doubt that from early times there existed the notion of certain distinctions in hell, and it would not have been a long step for a higher ethical sense to project into the other world the moral distinctions made in this world. The time arrived in Judaism when the belief in the resurrection established the doctrine of compensations after death. If the saints of the future were to enjoy Paradise in Zion, and those who were dead were to be raised to life again and enter the gates of the Holy City, then the notion of hellfire associated from primitive times with the local Melek cult, would naturally

⁸² In this connection the following equation may be suggested. The obscure reference in Am. 5 26 may be translated "Sakkûth, your king (melek), and Kêwân, your images." Now Sakkûth-Kêwân is probably Saturn, and Nergal was at one time identified with Saturn (see *KAT*³, pp. 410, 413), with which equation we may compare the other, Melek = Kronos-Saturn (Moore, *op. cit.* p. 3189); hence Nergal = Melek.

adapt itself to the requirements of sinners. The deep gorge below Jerusalem was capitally suited for the site of hell; the fires of its deity suggested the kind of punishment. And so we have in Isa. 66 25 the first sure representation of the notion of Gehenna. The dead sinners remain dead,—it is their corpses which are consumed by the unquenchable fire and the insatiable worm. But their spirits, according to ancient animistic notions, are still related to their bodies, and hence they are sensible of the physical torment. The picture is not developed; it doubtless spoke to well-established ideas. Probably the mouth of hell was regarded as open, in which, like a charnel-house (בֵּית הַמֵּת *pit, cistern*), lay heaped the corpses of the wicked dead. It was a further step to the notion of the resurrection of the wicked, also to the last grand assize (Dan. 12 2). This development came in with the spiritualization of Jewish eschatology, when the final scene came to be more mystically conceived. But in the earlier Judaism it consorted with the Hebrew genius that the whole drama of the Latter Days should have its theatre about Jerusalem.

The above thesis attempts to show the genetic development of the idea of Gehenna as a logical product of the Jewish soil. Unless we suppose such a native development, we have no quarter from which to explain the notion of hellfire. The references to this kind of torment in the Zoroastrian literature are exceedingly scant, and not of prime importance. In the Pahlavi *Artāi Virāf* there is reference to streams of glowing metal which form, along with cold and other evils, one of hell's torments.⁸³ It is to be remembered that fire was the sacred element of the Persians, and hence it played too small a part in their idea of hell to have materially affected Jewish theology.

⁸³ See Hübschmann, *Die parsische Lehre vom Jenseits u. jüngsten Gericht*, in *Jahrbücher f. Protestantische Theologie*, 1879, pp. 222 f. The Essene, and also apocalyptic, doctrine of a cold hell is probably of Persian origin; see Josephus, *B. J.* ii. 8, 11; *Enoch*, 100, 13; *Test. Levi*, 3; cf. also Dante's lowest hell.

Where Was Isaiah XL-LXVI Written?

WILLIAM H. COBB

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DURING the nineteenth century these chapters suffered an exile from Palestine to Babylon for just seventy years; beginning in the eighteen hundred twenties, when Gesenius took up the opinion of a few critical scholars and changed it from a minority to a majority; and ending in the eighteen hundred nineties, when Bernhard Duhm, like another Sheshbazzar, led his captivity captive. But according to the prevalent view this return was only partial, as in the days of Cyrus; the better portion of these chapters refused to follow their leader into Phœnicia. Now, as of old, it is the good figs that are left in Babylon. Trito-Isaiah, the Palestinian, by the testimony of his creator and of those who believe in him, is a prophet of inferior rank, not worthy to be compared with Deutero-Isaiah his model. The works of the latter comprise, some say nine chapters, most say thirteen, others sixteen, from which are to be subtracted, however, according to Duhm and many more, the four poems on the Servant. I believe that not even nine chapters belong in Babylonia, but that all are Palestinian.

If we were to plunge into the problem of the Servant of Jahwe, — whose ramifications Feldmann¹ has so patiently explored of late, — we should find confusion worse confounded; we could only say with Cornill (*Theol. Rundschau*, 1900, S. 414 ff.), "I should like to see the man whose head would not spin around like a top from surveying these opinions, which run through all possible permutations, and contradict one another at all conceivable points."

¹ *Der Knecht Gottes*, 1907. By attempting to cover the whole ground Feldmann takes some things at second-hand, and falls into a few natural

There are three different subjects which can hardly be separated—the question of date, the question of integrity, and the question of locality. Although the last is the question before us, it seems best to orient oneself on the other two. The question of date ought to be attacked (and decided, if possible) by *historical* evidence. What is the situation in these twenty-seven chapters? Were they written under Nabûna'id or Darius or Artaxerxes, or earlier than any of these, or later, or at various times? I answer with confidence: We cannot tell. The historical allusions are insufficient; they affect different minds, and even the same mind, differently. I am fond of quoting Kuenen's dictum in his *Godsdienst*: "We know for certain that the last twenty-seven chapters of Isaiah are the productions of a later prophet, who flourished in the second half of the sixth century B.C." Despite the precision of this statement, Kuenen himself admitted, a few years after, that we know but in part; he reduced the twenty-seven chapters of the Babylonian prophet to nine, extended the one author of the twenty-seven to a circle of authors, and the period of composition to the fifth century. And yet no new historical evidence had dawned upon him, nor has any been discovered in our generation, when König still dates the whole within the single decade 549–540, and Torrey (who also believes in the unity of the poems) brings them down to the fifth or fourth century, while Cheyne and Kittel allow a range of two full centuries, from Cyrus to Ochus, and Bertholet requires for his theory almost two centuries more, to the Maccabees. The very same material, in the hands of Sellin, points to Zerubbabel in 1898, to Jehoiachin in 1901. In 1907 we have Workman regarding the tyrant oppressor in these chapters as the Babylonian power; we have also Thirtle identifying him with Sennacherib; and I would undertake to prove in the same way that he was Napoleon Bonaparte, as pious Englishmen believed only a

errors. Thus, on page 26 he gives verbatim from Budde the correct statement of my general position (*JBL*, 1895), and then wrongly infers on the next page that I included 50 ⁴⁻⁶ among the Servant passages.

hundred years ago. In short, any man with a plausible theory and a lively historical imagination can use these chapters as a nose of wax and conform them to his particular notion of chronology.²

To pass now to the other preliminary subject, I think that one main reason why opinions are so divergent upon this second point is that each critic imports his own view of the date or dates into the question of integrity, a question which ought to be settled (and can be) not on historical, but on *literary* grounds. Cornill in his *Introduction* (1905) makes the following statement: "In any case, the conviction that chapters 56-66 are to be dissevered from Deutero-Isaiah, and are younger than the latter, may now be regarded as the prevailing view." One can see at a glance both the truth and the extent of this prevalence by means of the folding sheet appended to Karl Cramer's able monograph, *The Historical Background of Isaiah 56-66*.³ Here are eighteen critics, from Eichhorn, Ewald, and Bleek to Marti, Baudissin, and Cramer, each having his own analysis of these chapters, and all agreeing to separate them wholly or partly from 40-55. A year later Zillessen in Stade's *Zeitschrift* (1906) tried to establish the same partition by an elaborate argument from diction; but in spite of the high commendation which Volz, in the *Jahresbericht*, pronounces upon this study, Zillessen has only reduced his own case to an absurdity. The complicated system of double borrowing by Triton from Deutero-Isaiah, for which he argues, is credible only in the case of a modern scholar with a printed text before him. The real relation here is the conscious or unconscious harmony of a great poet with himself. It would be hard to find a plainer instance

² Sellin's *Das Rätsel des deuterojes. Buches* (1908) defends the Jehoiachin theory. T. H. Weir, in the *Westminster Review* for March, 1908, holds that the Servant of Jehovah is Cyrus throughout, and yet that the name "Cyrus" is probably spurious in the only passages where it occurs! Condamin, *Le Serviteur de Jahvé* in the *Revue Biblique* (April, 1908), supports the position of his *Isaie* (1905), agreeing in the main with Feldmann.

³ This essay was awarded a gold medal by the University of Dorpat in 1902, but remained unpublished until 1905, when the author inserted some later references. My attention was first called to Cramer's work by a letter from Professor Driver.

of a disputant who proves the position he means to demolish and demolishes the position he means to prove.

As with the argument from diction, so with the rest—critics find what they look for. I cannot but regard as a great extravagance the assertion of Duhm (*Jesaja*, 1902, S. 380) that Trito-Isaiah differs as a writer from Deutero-Isaiah “so stark wie möglich.” The poetical vigor and beauty of the former are well sustained, instead of “sinking down for the most part into versified prose.” In this and in all respects the cycle of poems forming chapters 40–66 belongs together, and stands at the summit of extant Hebrew literature. It would be easy to prove by Duhm’s methods that the author of the Second Part of *Faust* could never have written the First Part; and I say this after long and careful study of both parts. The fact that we happen to know Göthe to be the author of the whole cannot affect the axiom that things which are equal to the same thing are equal to each other. If the arguments in question disprove the unity of Isaiah 40–66, *a fortiori* they disprove the unity of *Faust*.

In the midst of the general craze for dissecting Deutero-Isaiah a clear note of opposition is sounded by two of our associates in this Society⁴—Professor Torrey, in his Harvard Summer School lectures (soon to be published, it is hoped), and Professor Beecher, in his Stone lectures at Princeton.⁵ The latter declares flatly (p. 278): “The unity [of Isaiah 40–66] is disputed, but really there is no room for dispute. The twenty-seven chapters, however they originated, are a single poem.” Professor Torrey goes into particulars. There is one author for the whole, he says, and one great argument, occupying in its complete form nearly all of chapters 40–48, while the details are worked out with consummate ability and perfect consistency in 49–66.

I fully accord with this position, which I hope to fortify by some further considerations. Let us suppose the twenty-

⁴ The present paper was read before the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis in December, 1907.

⁵ Published in 1905, with the title *The Prophets and the Promise*.

seven chapters had been just dug out of the ground without a clue to their history. Literary criticism, unentangled with any controversy respecting time or place, would pronounce on such questions as these: "Is this poetry or prose? Is there one predominant theme or several detached ones? Do the various parts agree or differ in their mode of thought, in the elevation or plainness of their style, in the quality and character of their diction?" Thus isolated, the debate becomes simplified; the chapters as we have them give no uncertain sound, I believe, upon all these points, but I shall touch upon only two. The answer to the first question is that this is poetry and not prose; poetry of a highly imaginative order and of a sustained and lofty tone, cruelly misapprehended when its glowing figures are treated like statements of dry fact. The very form is poetry, of two marked and definite types; so well transmitted also that, although it has come down to us through centuries of ignorant copyists, but slight changes are needed to bring out the beautiful melody.⁶ Far greater changes in the text are postulated by the criticism that is prevalent today.

As to the next point there is one great theme, presented in two aspects, which, with constant variations, are sounded from beginning to end. That theme is by no means what Driver states it to be in his *Introduction*. Chapters 40 to 66 deal, he says, "throughout with a common theme, viz. *Israel's restoration from exile in Babylon*." The italics are his. On the contrary, the theme is the supremacy of Jahwe, and the call of Israel to be his Servant, to reveal his light and truth to all mankind. Israel is unworthy; he is chastised and scattered for his sins. But Jahwe, who hath loved him, will bring home his banished from the four winds, and purify them, and glorify them; the incorrigible shall be destroyed

⁶ Cf. Professor Briggs's "Analysis of Isaiah 40-62," in the Harper Memorial Volumes, published since this paper was read. But to argue from difference of poetic form to difference of authorship is no more legitimate in "Deutero-Isaiah" than in Tennyson. Professor Briggs attributes both "the two great poems" to "the great prophet of the Exile" (p. 68).

and the nations shall be redeemed; then shall heaven and earth break forth into a shout of triumph.⁷

Stand at the centre and the twenty-seven chapters fall into harmony around you; stand out of focus and they fall into fragments, as Kusters and Cheyne, Duhm and Gressmann, Littmann and Marti have been proving.

We come in the third place to the question of locality. Even if the integrity of 40-66 were established, that would not settle the place of composition. We might hold, with Seinecke, that the author wrote in Palestine at the very time when his fellow-countrymen were exiled in Babylonia; or with H. P. Smith (apparently, see *Old Testament History*, p. 371), that he wrote in Palestine at a later period; or with Ewald, that he wrote in Egypt; or with König, that he wrote in Babylonia; or with several other critics that he wrote the earlier chapters in Babylonia, then came to Palestine with the returning exiles and finished the book there. But in this matter we should be ruled by the axiom that the whole is greater than a part. What is plain interprets what is obscure, and the larger prospect includes the smaller. The tender expostulation in 43 23. 24 is a plain passage, whether read as a reproach: "Thou hast not brought me the small cattle of thy burnt-offerings," or as a question: "Hast thou not brought me?" It would be wholly out of place in Babylonia; how should they bring the Lord's offerings in a strange land? In the same chapter, vss. 5, 6, our author's position is distinctly in the Holy Land, and his subject is the gathering thither of the children of God from *all* lands. "I will bring thy seed from the east and gather thee from the west. I will say to the

⁷ Cf. Seinecke, *Der Evangelist des alten Testaments*, p. vi., "Der Inhalt der Weissagung ist das neue Heil, die Herstellung und Vollendung des Reiches Gottes bis ans Ende der Welt. Was mehrfach als Zweck der Schrift dargestellt ist, die Exulanten würden ermahnt ins Vaterland zurückzukommen, solche Dinge sind blosse Folgerungen aus dem Hauptgedanken. Ist Kanaan das Land des göttlichen Segens, so versteht es sich von selbst, dass die versprengten Kinder aufgefordert werden in das freie Vaterhaus zurückzukehren."

north, Give up, and to the south, Keep not back; bring my sons from far, and my daughters from the end of the earth."

That is the real Captivity,—the Dispersion, which began with Tiglath-Pileser, in 734 B.C., which continues under the Turk in 1908 A.D., and which some people suppose is just about to cease after lasting twenty-six centuries. Deutero-Isaiah lived in the time of the exile, it is true, but we must enlarge our conception of the exile. The fifty years (not seventy) which a few Jews spent in Babylonia after the fall of the Holy City were simply a sample of what was going on in many lands in the time of our prophet, whoever, whenever, and wherever he was. 43 5. 6 is not an isolated passage; its parallel is 49 12: "Lo, these shall come from far: and lo, these from the north and from the west; and these from the land of Sinim." If the Polychrome Bible is right, read *Syene*, which is in the far South. Professor Torrey conjectures *Teman*, which means the South. The Assouan papyri discovered in 1904 would favor the former view, as Lofthouse remarks in his *Commentary* (1907) on Ezekiel 29 10. Thus, the banished are called home from at least three points of the compass—north, west, and south; and the first clause of the verse, "these shall come from far," would naturally refer to the far east, since the Hebrews were wont to face the east when reckoning direction. So, then, it is not true that Deutero-Isaiah wrote chapters 40–52 or 40–55 in Babylonia and then came to Palestine, for indications that point clearly to Palestine are in 43 and 49.

When we use the phrase, "the great prophet of the Babylonian exile," it is Ezekiel whom we ought to have in mind. For, as his latest commentator, whom I just cited, has observed (p. 12): "The exile was the period in which the Jewish nation seemed to stand between two worlds, 'one dead, one powerless to be born.' That what was best in the old revived, and that the new really did come to the birth, was the result of Ezekiel's activity." And then he adds,—with charming *naïveté*, from my standpoint,— "Even the other great prophet of the exile, vastly more familiar to

most people as he is to-day, had far less influence, as far as we can see, either on the Jews of the exile, or on their successors who returned to Palestine, than the exiled priest who lived among them by the river Chebar."⁸

But whither is this leading us? Is not the very *rationale* of a Babylonian habitat for Deutero-Isaiah the necessity of positing that prophet among the exiles there, to account for the great facts that the fidelity of the people was preserved in the furnace of affliction and that the restoration was effected? Have we not been told with constant iteration for the last hundred years,⁹ that "the persons whom the prophet addresses, the people amongst whom he lives and moves, whose feelings he portrays, *whose doubts he dispels, whose faith he confirms* [my italics], are . . . the *Jewish exiles in Babylonia*" [Driver's italics]? That "to arouse the indifferent, to reassure the wavering, to expostulate with the doubting, to announce with triumphant confidence the certainty of the approaching restoration [from Babylon] is the aim of the great prophecy"? If we are to understand that this work was accomplished by Ezekiel instead of Deutero-Isaiah, we are certainly making some progress in comprehending the history of the period in question.

I grant, to be sure, that the forty-seventh chapter of Isaiah treats of Babylon, and so do the first two verses of chapter 46, but Babylon here is regarded as the best known example of foreign idolaters and oppressors in the time then present, just as the *past* bondage in Egypt is so often referred to in these chapters. This fact, by the way, does not go far toward fixing the date; for during several centuries Babylon was the natural representative in the eyes of the Jews of the great world-power in the East.

There are a few other places in our present text of Isaiah 40-66 where the names Cyrus and Babylon occur;

⁸ Cf. Toy, *Enc. Bib. s.v.* "He [Ezekiel] was the last of the prophets—prophetism accomplished its work in securing substantially the victory of monotheism. The writers who are massed under the name of the Second Isaiah are seers rather than prophets."

⁹ The quotations are from Driver, *Isaiah: His Life and Times*, p. 133.

but six years ago Professor Torrey showed, in a paper before this Society, that these are awkward insertions by a late editor, who wished to connect our chapters with the book of Ezra. The secondary character of the name Cyrus in the most important passage of all, 45 1, can be made very clear. The subject presented in the whole section, 45 1-7, is not Cyrus at all, but the Servant of Jahwe, who is characterized precisely as in 41 and 42. In all three passages, Jahwe upholds him by his right hand, and gives him victory over all foes, in order that the world may know that Jahwe and he alone has done it. It is not strange that Sellin (*Das Rätsel*, pp. 57, 58) finds numerous parallels between Cyrus and the Servant!

There is a well-known poem by James Montgomery, beginning somewhat like this: "Hail to the Lord's Anointed, to Cyrus, great David's greater Son." That cannot be quite correct, however, for it is not poetry at all. This single test enables us to expel the interpolation, not only from the hymn book, but also from Isa. 45 1; for the latter is as truly metrical as the former, the rhythm as regular, the assonances nearly so.

Hail to the Lord's Anointed,
Great David's greater Son.
Hail, in the time appointed,
His reign on earth begun.

כה אמר יהוה למשיחו
אשר אחזקתי בימינו
לרד לפניו גוים
ומתני מלכים אפתח

Thus saith Jahwé to his Anointed,
Whose right hand I have holden
To bring down nations before him,
And the loins of kings I will loose.

Turn now to 48 20. 21, where the imagery is drawn from the Exodus, when the water gushed from the rock, but the theme is the redemption of Israel, or Jacob, who is called

the Servant of Jahwe here also. His great salvation, a spiritual blessing, is to be proclaimed to the end of the earth. The prosaic editor inserts מַכְבֵּל and to balance it מַכְשָׁדִים, just as at 48 14 and 43 14. Even so, modern commentators, equally prosaic, degrade this frequent spiritual metaphor of water for the thirsty, and springs in the desert, into the literal picture of watering a returning caravan; whereas the author's own interpretation appears at 44 3, "I will pour water upon him that is thirsty and streams upon the dry ground; I will pour my spirit upon thy seed, and my blessing upon thine offspring."

Whether or not the words כַּבֵּל and כְּשָׁדִים have been inserted into the passages noted above, at all events the writer's own standpoint remains fixed at Jerusalem. The return from exile is not alone from the east, but the whole includes the part. This is seen again at 60 4. 9, which thus will supply another link between Deutero-Isaiah and the supposed Trito-Isaiah. Thy sons shall come from far; the ships of Tarshish are waiting to bring them home. As Torrey well remarks, this would be an impossible feat if they were to be brought from Babylon.

The kind of evidence that determines the locality of an author may be historical or literary or both, but often it belongs to a third class — *circumstantial* evidence. This has the advantage of letting its victim reveal his habitat unconsciously, as in the case of Simon Peter; the more fervently he cursed, the more surely he betrayed himself, for no Galilean would have been in that company unless he were a friend of the Nazarene teacher.

Thirty years ago the attention of the world was focussed on a celebrated trial, now so far forgotten that it is no impeachment of the intelligence of our young people if they never heard of Arthur Orton, the English butcher. Laying claim to the Tichborne estates, he was shrewd enough to acquaint himself beforehand with the history and habits of the family in England; but one thing he did not know was that the man he was personating spent a good part of his boyhood in France. It was proven, in the course of the

long trial, that Orton was utterly ignorant of many things which the real Sir Roger must have known, while he knew much of which the other must have been ignorant. He was convicted and sentenced; in good part on the circumstantial evidence of locality. Let us see if the same kind of evidence applies to the case in hand. The learned counsel for this assumed prophet of Babylonia assert that he lived there, and wrote many of these chapters there. How is it, we reply, that he does not know Babylonia? that his environment, down to the minutest particulars, is Palestinian and not Babylonian? It cannot be because there was nothing in Babylon which would interest a Jewish patriot. One absorbs his surroundings even against his will. Ezekiel furnishes an instructive contrast here. Never was there a prophet with intenser Jewish feeling. Moreover, he grew up to maturity in Jerusalem, and served there in the temple, while Deutero-Isaiah, according to the prevailing view, passed his whole formative period, and did his chief work, in Babylonia; in fact, it is doubtful if he ever saw Palestine. Ezekiel's youth was passed under the powerful influence of Jeremiah and his associates; his latest writings were occupied almost solely with the restored ritual sketched for the Holy Land; his heart was there perpetually. How can it but be that we shall find Deutero-Isaiah far more saturated with the Babylonian environment than is Ezekiel? But precisely the reverse is what we do find.

The numerous illustrations in Professor Toy's Polychrome Ezekiel picture to the eye at a glance the objects amid which that prophet lived and moved. As Dean Stanley puts it (*Jewish Church*, II, p. 523), "He had wandered through the vast halls of Assyrian monuments and there gazed on all that Assyrian monuments have disclosed to us of human dignity and brute strength combined,—the eagle-winged lion, human-headed bull." There is no suggestion of such scenes in Deutero-Isaiah. Mark, again, the contrast between the two with respect to the products of nature. Ezekiel's references are mainly commercial; Deutero-Isaiah's mainly agricultural. For instance, he describes like an eye-witness

the process of threshing and the dissipation of the chaff. Ezekiel's words for wheat, barley, and spelt are in the plural, and refer to the product, not the growing grain; he has no word for threshing. The only peculiar tree he mentions is the plane tree, 31 s, ערמון, a word occurring only once elsewhere, namely in J's narrative, where Jacob peels the wood of that tree in this very Mesopotamia. In Isaiah 40-66, but nowhere in Ezekiel, we read of דשא and חציר *grass*, כרפד *briars*, נעצון *thorns*. Ezekiel has, it is true, his own rare word for thorn, סלון or סלון, found but twice in the Hebrew Bible, and both times in Ezekiel. But נעצון also occurs only twice in the Hebrew Bible, once in Deutero-Isaiah, and once in a prophet of Jerusalem. Is it not plain, then, that Ezekiel had before him a Babylonian thorn (possibly סלון is a Babylonian word) and Deutero-Isaiah a Palestinian; especially as there are twenty-two Hebrew words for thorn, and among them these two are selected in just this way? Thus we impale the defendant on the point of his own thorn.¹⁰

Passing from natural to artificial objects, we find in Deutero-Isaiah the simple implements of the carpenter, the farmer, and the household, e.g. מעצר *axe*, מקצעה *chisel*, שרד *graver*, מחונה *compasses*, מסמר *nails*, דבק *soldering*, דלי *bucket*, וקים *chains*, מורג *threshing-sledge*, מקבת *hammer*, אשפה *quiver*, מכמר *net*, נט and פורה *wine-press*, דק *curtain*, הרם *stool*, פשתה *wick*, קבעת *goblet*.

Not one of these is in Ezekiel. His artificial objects present a bewildering variety; none of the following are in Deutero-Isaiah, and many more might be adduced. תרן *mast*, משיט *oar*, כנור *harp*, צמיד *bracelet*, שן *ivory*, חפש *carpets*, שפתים *hooks*, סוגר *cage*, חפל *whitewash*, רקיע *pavement*, מגרש *area*, גג *roof*, אתיק *gallery*. Unconsciously these prophets are revealing the fact that Ezekiel, and not Deutero-

¹⁰ Note also branch, Eze. פארה, Dt. Isa. גזר; twig, Eze. ומורה, Dt. Isa. רבם; willow, or rather poplar, Eze. צפצפה, Dt. Isa. שרבה. It would seem probable that both refer to the *Populus euphratica*. See the article "Willow" in *Enc. Bib.*, by Norman M'Lean and Thistleton Dyer; cf. on the other side the article "Willow" in *Jewish Enc.*, by Löw and Hirsch.

Isaiah, is familiar with commerce. In fact, it is doubtful if half a dozen words in the latter's works could be called commercial terms, apart from such general expressions as מִדָּה and תָּכֵן *to measure*, מַחִיר *price*, כֶּסֶם *purse*, מאוּנִים *balances*.

Ezekiel has מִשׁוּרָה and תָּכֵן *measure*, רֶכֶל *to traffic*, רֶכֶּלָה, תְּבוּאָה and סְחָרָה *merchandise*,¹¹ מוֹר *to exchange*, קִנִּין *goods*, עֹבֹן *increase*, נֶשֶׁךְ *interest*, חֹב *debt*, חֶבֶל and חִבְלָה *pledge*, עֹבֹן *wares*, חֶסֶן *treasure*, שֶׁקֶל *shekel*, אֵיפָה *ephah*, בַּת *bath*, הֵין *hin*, חֹמֶר *homer*, גֶּרָה *gerah*, כֹּר *cor*, מִנָּה *pound*, אִמָּה *cubit*.

None of these are in Deutero-Isaiah. The contrast between the two is especially significant in their allusions to precious stones. Ezekiel has כֹּרְכֹר *ruby*, אֶדֶם *carnelian*, פִּטְמָה *topaz*, נֶפֶךְ *carbuncle*, רֵאמוֹת *corals*, יַשְׁפָּה *jasper*, יַשְׁפֵּי *yellow jasper*, יוֹלֶם *onyx* (?), בִּרְקָתַי *emerald*, סַפִּיר *sapphire*, שִׁמְרִי *diamond or adamant*.

Deutero-Isaiah, on the other hand, mentions only three precious stones, all used figuratively in the same connection (54 ii. 12), סַפִּיר *sapphire*, כֹּרְכֹר *ruby* (both these are in Ezekiel, as above), and the ἀπαξ λεγόμενον, אֶקְדָּח, of doubtful meaning.¹²

The accumulating testimony might well justify us in exclaiming to the defendant: "Thou art a Palestinian, and thy speech bewrayeth thee." I can only hint, however, at the variety and fulness of the similar evidence which patient research discovers in the documents as they lie before us. It is more important to direct attention to the nature of the proof in question.

Twenty-six years ago, when I published, for another purpose, a mass of material like this,¹³ the argument was misapprehended in two directions. The force of it lies, first, in the accumulation of a multitude of particulars, no one of

¹¹ But most critics read the verb here, 27 *is*, as in vv. 12, 16, 18, 21 (*bis*), 36. Ez. 27 is crowded with commercial details. Contrast the two occurrences of the root סָחַר in Dt. Isa.; "the labor of Egypt and the *traffic* (סָחַר) of Cush" 45 14; and 47 15 "thy merchants," referring to Babylon.

¹² Wellhausen, Cheyne and others would read נֶפֶךְ for פִּיךְ in Isa. 54 ii.

¹³ *Bibliotheca Sacra*, July, 1882.

which may be of more consequence to the final result, proportionally, than a single thread to a strong rope; and, secondly, in the unconscious fidelity with which any given author absorbs and reproduces his own environment, which may thus be detected. An instance of the one kind of misconception appears in Cheyne's *Introduction to the Book of Isaiah*. I had mentioned, among scores of similar data, the fact that Deutero-Isaiah speaks of snow as a common phenomenon, "the snow cometh down from heaven," whereas Ezekiel, in Babylonia, has no occasion to mention snow. Upon this Cheyne remarks, p. 274: "That the writer of chaps. xl.-lv. has a good knowledge of Palestine may be granted, though Mr. Cobb surely attaches too much importance to the mention of snow in lv. 10."¹⁴ The fallacy here is that which Whately's *Logic* illustrates by an extreme instance, as follows: "All the apples on the tree are worth twenty shillings; this is an apple on the tree; therefore this is worth twenty shillings."

The other kind of misconception is exemplified by Delitzsch in the fourth edition of his *Commentary on Isaiah*, p. 402, Anm. 1: "Ueberhaupt sind die Naturbilder eines Schriftstellers kein sicheres Anzeichen seiner wirklichen Naturumgebung. . . . Von Gazellen-Augen, Rhinoceros-Dickhäutigkeit, Hippopotamus-Plumpheit kann reden wer diese Tiere nur etwa aus zoologischer Schaustellung kennt. Ich finde nicht durch Cobb erwiesen, dass Ezechiel babylonische und Jes. II dagegen palästinische Naturumgebung verrät." The fallacy here lies in obscuring the difference between conscious and unconscious allusions. In the same unspecialized way in which Delitzsch's assumed visitor to the Museum tells what he saw there, Deutero-Isaiah discourses in chapter 47 about the astrologers and necromancers of Babylon. But his Palestinian references are *minute* and *particular*, and run through all the departments of life, in a fashion that could not be counterfeited without great risk of detection. If the man whom Delitzsch depicts

¹⁴ This is the only reference which his *Introduction* makes to my researches.

as frequenting the zoölogical gardens should claim to have studied those animals in their native haunts, he would be pretty sure to be tripped up in his narrative by the circumstantial evidence of locality.

In 1877 William Urwick devoted ten pages of his monograph on the *Servant of Jehovah* to a study of the agricultural terms used in Isa. 40-66, and drew the natural inference that the author lived among the gardens and vineyards, the hills and valleys, of Palestine, rather than among what he termed "the vast, dry, monotonous plains of Babylon." Professor Driver replied (in *Isaiah, his Life and Times*) that for all we know the writer may have been a tiller of the soil in some country district of Babylonia outside the great city. When Driver wrote thus, the belief prevailed among Old Testament critics that the historical background throughout the twenty-seven chapters was the exile in Babylonia, and that this fact ruled the entire situation, overriding all other evidence. At present the eminent scholars who hold that theory are extremely few, and the case reduces to a mere *argumentum ab ignorantia*. For the existence of a great Jewish prophet in Babylonia in the sixth century, other than Ezekiel, there is not a particle of historical evidence, unless the book of Daniel is historical; nor is there a solitary tradition to put in the balance. On the other hand, the belief that our chapters proceed from Palestine is not a hypothesis, but the uniform historical tradition, which is fortified by the local color of those chapters so manifoldly and so minutely that it cannot be offset by theories assumed simply to meet objections.¹⁵

To conclude: since it is conceded by most critics that chapters 56-66 are Palestinian, let us glance through 40-55, and observe the chief marks of place not already mentioned.

¹⁵ König's use of the argument from locality is instructive; see *The Exiles' Book of Consolation*, pp. 126-132. He labors (literally) to show that the word of the prophet in 52 11, "Go ye out from thence," means "from Babylon," though the prophet was there himself; and that when Jahwe says in 52 1, "What do I here?" he means "in Babylon," although Jerusalem and Zion are mentioned four times in the immediate context, and Babylon not at all.

The scene in 40 2 is Jerusalem, and there is no suggestion of Babylon in the whole chapter. The reference in this verse to the seventy years' exile is a fancy of the commentators. To Jerusalem, like a king, comes Jahwe (vs. 3) through the wilderness, as in the highly poetical parallel, Ps. 68 5: "Sing unto God, make melody to his name; Cast up a highway for him that rideth through the deserts." I prefer to give the received text rather than, with Briggs, to conjecture another text.¹⁶

In 40 9 Jerusalem shouts the good news from the mountain top to the cities of Judah. Some scholars imagine that in 40 10. 11 Adonai Jahwe's reward which is with him is the ransomed people, whom they picture him as leading across the Arabian desert. As well introduce the same imagery into the 23d Psalm. If not appropriate there, what is the occasion for it here? In 40 16 the reference to Lebanon, by a poet whose daily vision was bounded by that glorious range, is certainly natural; coming from a resident of Babylonia, it would be less natural.

In 41 9 Abraham, the Babylonian, is said to have been called from the ends of the earth; of course, then, the writer was not in Babylonia himself. Critics have tried to show that the reference here is to Jahwe's calling Israel out of Egypt, but see the discussion in my "Servant of Jahweh," *JBL*, 1895. In 41 27 the scene is still Zion and Jerusalem. In 42 11 Kedar and Sela have nothing to do with pilgrims through the desert, who are nowhere suggested. In 42 16 the prophet is in the Holy City, for the blind are to be brought, not sent. 43 3 is simply an Oriental and poetical way of saying that Israel is more precious to Jahwe than Egypt, Ethiopia, and Seba. The "new thing" in 43 19-21 is not a literal march through the wilderness, but as always, under the image of the Exodus, there is depicted the coming

¹⁶ The above parallel is adduced in Sellin's *Serubbabel*, replying to which König asks if Sellin really thinks that Jahwe needs a path made for him through the desert. Ὁ βᾶθρος! Sellin's section, "Babylonian influences on the author of the Servant passages" (*Das Rätsel*, pp. 98-111) is most likely to convince those who already believe that the author in question was in Babylonia to be influenced.

redemption and home-gathering of scattered Israel. 43 28, if the text is right, points to the sanctuary in Jerusalem. The sarcasm on idol-making in 44 belongs as naturally to Palestine as elsewhere. 45 13 refers to the Servant of Jahwe. This passage, as Torrey points out, may lie at the basis of all these interpolations. The Servant will build up Jerusalem, and will redeem the exiles everywhere. In 46 11, if we read (with Torrey) עבדִי for the strange word עֵיט, the whole context is harmonious. 48 14. 15 condenses all the Servant passages. Here at any rate the standing interpolation is obvious; "Jahwe hath loved him (*i.e.* Israel); he shall execute his counsel and his might. I have spoken, I have called him, I have brought him, he shall prosper." As 49 12 has been already shown to refer to the great home-coming from every land, so the same subject runs through the whole preceding and following context. 50 1 gives the reason for *all* Israel's chastisements, not merely for Nebuchadnezzar's conquest. Zion is the object in 51 3. 51 11 is a universal, not local, return. In 51 14 the margin of R. V. is right; the bowed one shall be loosed. 51 17 to 52 12 is an extended address to Jerusalem, the mother of us all, who is to welcome her elect that come from the four winds. 53 has no mark of place, but in 54 Zion enlarges her tent, or as 55 5 puts it, nations run unto her. In 55 12, to go out with joy and be led forth with peace, is not to emigrate from Babylon, but (under the image of the Exodus) to receive all the spiritual security that the phrase connotes; cf. Alexander *in loco*.

To recapitulate: from first to last Jerusalem is the centre of interest, and the natural standpoint for the development of the twofold theme. Jahwe is exalted; for he dwelleth on high; he hath filled Zion with judgment and righteousness. Jahwe hath made bare his holy arm in the eyes of all the nations; and all the ends of the earth shall see the salvation of our God.

The Text and Interpretation of Ecclesiastes 5 19

GEORGE A. BARTON

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE

THIS passage: **כִּי לֹא הָרְבָה יוֹפֵר אֶת־יָמֵי חַיָּו כִּי הָאֱלֹהִים מַעֲנֶה בְּשִׂמְחָת לִבּוֹ** presents great difficulties, which have long been recognized by interpreters. The Hiph. part. **מַעֲנֶה** may be from the root (I) **עָנָה** "to answer," or from the root (II) **עָנָה** "to be engrossed, anxious, wearied with," identical with the Ar. **عَنَّ** and the Syr. **ܥܢܐ**. (III) Some have understood the verb in the sense of the Syr. **ܥܢܐ**, Ar. **غنى** "to sing," and (IV) still others with the Ar. **غنى** "to be rich." Recent commentators have, however, varied between (I) and (II), and the other suggestions do not need serious consideration.

In favor of (I) **עָנָה**, "to answer," the names of Döderlein, Rosenmüller, Gesenius, Ewald, Delitzsch, Nowack, Wright, and McNeile may be quoted. In favor of (II) **עָנָה** "to engross," Knobel, De Jong, Siegfried, Wildeboer, and Haupt (*Eccles.*, p. 23 and *JBL*, xix. p. 71).

In either case a difficulty is felt in that as the text stands the verb has no object. Various emendations of the text have accordingly been suggested, the one most popular being the emendation of **בְּשִׂמְחָת** to **בְּשִׂמְחָה**, so that **לִבּוֹ** will no longer be a genitive and may become the object of the verb.

The real solution of the problem is, I think, found in an appeal to the versions. So far as I know, all the elements of the solution have never been put together by a single commentator, though Siegfried closely approaches it.

Θ reads: *ὅτι οὐκ ἄλλα μνησθήσεται τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ · ὅτι ὁ θεὸς περισπᾷ αὐτὸν ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ καρδίας αὐτοῦ*, i. e. the LXX took **מַעֲנֶה** to be from (II) **עָנָה**, and had before them the reading **מַעֲנֵהוּ**. This latter point McNeile has perceived (*Ecclesiastes*, p. 144), but has overlooked the former.

S reads:

מַחֲבֵהּ בְּכֶה שֶׁיָּבִיחַ תִּחְסֶה מְעַדְלָהּ שְׂשֵׁה־מִמֶּנִּי מַחֲבֵהּ
בְּחֶלְאֵהּ בִּנְחָתָהּ כֶּה שְׂסֻדְמָהּ בְּחֶה

in which the root חבן as in Heb. might mean "answer" or "engross, occupy," and is accordingly ambiguous, but which clearly supports the reading מענהו.

The V reads: "Non enim satis recordabitur dierum vitae suae, eo quod Deus occupet deliciis cor ejus." This supports those who connect מענה with (II) ענה, but does not favor the reading מענהו. It supports instead the reading בשמחה לבו.

Ⲭ does not translate, but gives a paraphrase, in which it is evident that they connected מענה with ענה "to humble, afflict."

The Arabic reads the last half of the verse:

لَإِنَّ اللَّهَ يَجْتَذِبُهُ فِي سُرُورٍ قَلْبِهِ

i.e. "For God attracts him by the pleasure of his heart," supporting both the interpretation of מענה as from (II) ענה and the reading מענהו.

Professor Haupt (*JBL*, xix. p. 71) claims that we should emend the passage according to V. It seems to me clear, however, that Ⲭ the oldest version supplies a simpler and clearer reading, which is supported by the Syr. and Ar., and that we should follow its rendering, "For not much will he notice (יִזְכֵּר) the days of his life, for God engrosses him with the joy of his heart." This fits the preceding context admirably, and gives a much more appropriate meaning than "answer." The chief difficulty in the passage was created by the falling out of a ם at the end of מענהו.

The Relation of Priests to Sacrifice before the Exile

OWEN H. GATES

ANDOVER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

§ 1. *Priests in the early narratives of the period of the Judges and David.*

The story of Micah and his priests¹ offers the most interesting material. Micah lived in the highlands of Ephraim, a private man, but maintaining a considerable establishment. One feature of it was a shrine, with an oracle. The first priest whom he had was his son, whom he consecrated for the purpose. This arrangement was satisfactory until there appeared a professional priest, a Levite, unemployed, seemingly seeking employment. Here Micah saw a rare opportunity to improve upon earlier conditions. He hired the Levite for a stipulated sum, and congratulated himself on the results. Later a migrating tribe, Dan, came that way, after the region had been explored by a company of scouts. The scouts had been surprised to find there so well ordered a sanctuary; they had made use of it to inquire of God; and now they recommended that the tribe appropriate the whole establishment. The Levite was not reluctant, for it was a much better position that was offered him. His case was much like that of Dinah as described by Renan in his *Histoire du peuple d'Israel*. The painstaking translator makes him say of her, "Dinah was not done violence to, she was merely eloped with." The Levite went with the Danites, and the apparatus which he took with him is described as consisting of the ephod, the teraphim, and the graven

¹ Judges 17, 18.

image.² The scope of the story seems to require here the mention of all the essential features of the sanctuary, and we may assume that these objects comprised its furniture. Of an altar and its utensils, and of sacrifice and its apparatus, there is no mention throughout the whole circumstantial narrative. The priesthood is in existence, and that not in its crude beginning. Although there is but one priest in the story, he is one of a trained guild, and evidently its members confined themselves to the one calling. The sanctuary, too, is fully equipped. Sacrifice, however, is wholly ignored in the passage. It is also significant that the priest appears in the pay of another, acting in his stead, and acceptable to him, because he considers him acceptable to God.

In Saul's time Ahijah, a priest, is with the army, with the ephod,³ and is wont to advise the king by its means with reference to such matters as giving battle and the discovery of treachery.⁴ There is a city of priests, Nob,⁵ with ephod and shewbread, and various memorials. When David wishes aid of the priest, he asserts that he is in the king's service and the help is promptly rendered. When Saul discovers that the priest has aided his enemy, he does not scruple to punish the whole company of priests as he would any other subordinates whom he considered disloyal to him. They were his own subjects, as the priest was in Micah's pay. David also has a priest with him,⁶ who inquires of Yahwe for him; and when he becomes king, he directs the movements of the priests as a matter of course. It was one function of the priests to carry the ark, as in the narrative of the rebellion of Absalom.⁷ The sacred objects under the charge of the priests were preserved in enclosures of various names.

§ 2. *Altars and sacrifice as described in the same early narratives.*

Gideon entertained the mal'ak unawares at Ophrah,⁸ out

² 18 20. If "graven image" is a redactional addition, our use of the passage is not affected.

³ 1 Sam. 14 s. 18, LXX.

⁴ 14 20.

⁵ 1 Sam. 21.

⁶ 1 Sam. 23 s, 30 7.

⁷ 2 Sam. 15 24.

⁸ Judges 6 11.

of doors, under a terebinth. He gave him lavish food, and because the guest was the messenger of Yahwe, the food became a sacrifice, and the rock on which it was served an altar. So the rock where Samson's parents received the visit of the mal'ak⁹ became an altar. And numerous other altars and sacrifices are mentioned incidentally, without the slightest reference to priests in connection with them.

The story of Samuel and Saul at the sacrifice is the most important testimony for this period.¹⁰ Saul and his servant in search of the lost asses come to the land of Zuph, to a city stated (in the commentaries) to be Ramah. They inquire for the man of God, and find Samuel, who invites them to a great sacrifice. It is to be to-day at the high place, and the people will wait for Samuel to bless the sacrifice before they eat it. The feast is eaten in a room לְשֹׁכָה, and the guests come by invitation. Samuel invites Saul, as he has presumably invited the rest, and gives directions about the food. The narrative has a clear mark of antiquity in the name שְׁמֹעַל applied to Samuel, which demands and receives an explanation; but there seems no consciousness of any incongruity in the description of the conduct of the sacrifice. The only official present was the prophet, and the duty which he performs, and for which the people will certainly wait, is one not performed by priests even in the sacrificial ritual of P. It could be nothing ritually prescribed for a sacrifice, but seems to be a mark of honor bestowed on the prophet, unless indeed we regard it as the sufficient evidence that he is the host at this feast, which is also a sacrifice.

After the victory over the Philistines, Saul discovers¹¹ that the army are eating with the blood. He bids them bring their animals to a great stone where he makes an altar; there they are to eat properly without the blood. There were priests with the army at the time, as is expressly stated, but no mention is made of them in this connection, although the whole emphasis in the incident is upon the

⁹ 13 19 ff.¹⁰ 1 Sam. 9.¹¹ 1 Sam. 14 31 ff.

correct method of feasting. Later we read¹² that it was Gad the seer who counselled David to build the altar, at the threshing floor of Araunah.

The evidence then uniformly supports the view that there was no sacrificial priesthood in Israel down to the time of the temple; and sacrifice was certainly so well established by that time that it is safe to eliminate priestly ritual from our thought of its essential character. Thus far, moreover, there is no evidence that sacrifices are prescribed. And these two statements are really one; for if they were prescribed, it must have been at the hands and under the control of priests, and if priests and their attendance had been essential to the proper performance of sacrifice, it would not have remained very long wholly voluntary.

§ 3. *Priests in the early narratives of the Pentateuch.*

We proceed now to inquire how the tradition preserved in these early narratives (we can now call them J and E), pictures the customs of still earlier times, as regards priests. There is in fact only the slightest mention of them in these sections of the Pentateuch. The priests in Egypt are said¹³ to have had a portion from Pharaoh. There was a priest of Midian, later Moses' father-in-law, represented by E¹⁴ as possessed of flocks and daughters. During the wanderings, Jethro made his son-in-law a visit,¹⁵ praised his God exceedingly, "took burnt offerings¹⁶ and sacrifices לאלהים, and Aaron came, and all the elders of Israel, to eat bread with Moses' father-in-law before God."¹⁷ This reads more like the description of an ordinary banquet with sacrificial accompaniment than like a sacrifice arranged by Jethro in his character as priest; and we take it, not as proving that a priest must be at every sacrifice, but that he may be there, and if he is present, he acts very much as any other man acts; in this particular passage he is host as was Samuel above.

¹² 2 Sam. 24.

¹⁴ Ex. 2 16 ff.

¹⁶ Plural, Kittel after the versions.

¹³ Gen. 47 22. Or is this J²?

¹⁵ Ex. 18.

¹⁷ V. 12.

Priests are again mentioned at Sinai, where they are described as those that come near Yahwe.¹⁸ On this occasion they are charged not to break through the established limits in order to come to Yahwe. At the crossing of the Jordan¹⁹ the ark was carried by the priests. Likewise at the capture of Jericho,²⁰ where priests also blew the rams' horns. With these two passages in view, it is safe to say that when it is stated²¹ that during the wanderings the ark went on in advance of the people to locate the camp, it was carried by the priests.

The representation of Aaron in the latest literature as a priest with ritual duties is so familiar to the reader of the Bible that it is worth while noting just what is said of him in the narratives of J and E. In these sections Aaron is called Moses' brother, the Levite,²² of fluent speech. He is represented as Moses' assistant in Egypt and in the wanderings. With Hur he helped Moses hold up the rod of God to secure victory over Amalek.²³ He was among those called to Jethro's feast.²⁴ He and Hur were appointed temporary judges while Moses was on the mount. While Moses tarried aloft he made a golden calf,²⁵ and built an altar before it, and proclaimed a feast on the morrow. "And they rose up early on the morrow, and offered burnt offerings and brought peace offerings; and the people sat down to eat and to drink, and rose up to play."²⁶ If it were not for the later view of Aaron as priest, no one would assume that on this occasion he was exercising a distinctly priestly function in connection with the sacrifice and festival of the people. It would be ludicrous to suppose that his proclamation of a feast imposed an obligation of sacrifice upon the people, such as, for example, was done by the priestly code. In this case, as all along, Aaron is acting as Moses' assistant and representative. In JE there is no trace of the later view of Aaron as priest. It is true that the title is found in the Deuteronomic review of the history of the wander-

¹⁸ Ex. 19 22.²¹ Num. 10 33.²⁴ Ex. 18 12.¹⁹ Josh. 3.²³ Ex. 4. 14.²⁵ Ex. 32.²⁰ Ch. 6.²² Ex. 17 s. n. E.²⁶ V. 6.

ings,²⁷ which in the main follows the tradition of JE, but this is valueless as unsupported testimony to the older view.

There is one other passage assigned to JE that mentions priests in connection with sacrifice. In the Blessing of Moses, the section referring to Levi alludes first to the Urim and Thummim, and to his ignoring of family ties in the intensity of his loyalty to Yahwe's service, and then proceeds : —

"They shall teach Jacob thine ordinances,
And Israel thy law :
They shall put incense before thee,
And whole burnt offering upon thine altar."²⁸

Cutting, as this verse does, squarely across the contention that priests were not concerned with sacrifice in early Israel, of course it must be explained away ! But seriously, there is enough in the text to raise the question whether we have in the verse a genuine JE sentiment, in good order. Confining ourselves entirely to the one verse, and omitting some considerations that are of weight chiefly to those already convinced, the following points may be noted. The noun, קטורה, with the ending ה, is found only here. The word for incense ordinarily has the segholate form of the feminine ending. This is not a serious difficulty, but still is noticeable. Brown treats it as a separate word, calls it masculine, and translates it "smoke of sacrifice," connecting it with the early and rare meaning of קטרת, rather than with the common meaning "incense" which does not occur before the seventh century.²⁹ Again, the Hebrew translated "before thee," is בְּאַפֶּךָ and not the usual לְפָנֶיךָ. It is then, literally, "in thy nostril," and not plural as the margin of R.V. gives it in the interest of a smooth expression. אף as the organ of smell has one parallel in the Old Testament, namely, Ps. 115 6. This is late enough to suggest a late origin of the verse in Deuteronomy. But even in this Psalm it is not used of Yahwe, but of an idol. "Noses have they, but they smell not." Ordinarily, of course, the word is used for anger ; a

²⁷ Deut. 10.

²⁸ Deut. 33 10.

²⁹ G. F. Moore in *E. B.*, art. "Incense."

few times for the organ of breathing. If the poet is bound in our passage to speak of Yahwe's nose, doubtless he would choose this word, as the Psalmist does when he will speak about the nose of an idol; but men do not speak thus of Yahwe. They were offering incense to him constantly, and very often Yahwe is said to accept it, but invariably some other expression is used in place of this.

Then the word **קָלִיל**, translated "whole burnt offering," is strange. The passages where it is found are as follows:—

Lev. 6 22, 23 (Heb. 15. 16 P). Of the meal offering it is said, "By a statute forever (**קָלִיל תִּקְטָר**) it shall be wholly burnt unto Yahwe; every meal offering of the priests shall be (**קָלִיל**) wholly burnt. It shall not be eaten."

Deut. 13 16 (Heb. 17). They were to destroy a captured city and its booty, **הַחֲרֹם אֹתָהּ**. "Thou shalt burn with fire the city and all the spoil thereof **קָלִיל** unto Yahwe."

1 Sam. 7 9. "Samuel took a sucking lamb, and offered it up a burnt offering **קָלִיל** to Yahwe." This is assigned to E².

Isa. 2 18. "And idols **קָלִיל** shall pass away."

Ezek. 16 14. "And thy renown went forth among the nations for thy beauty; for it was **קָלִיל**."

Ex. 28 31 P. "Thou shalt make the robe of the ephod **קָלִיל** of blue."

Ex. 39 22. As above.

Num. 4 6. A cloth **קָלִיל** of blue.

Jud. 20 40. In the conflict with Benjamin at Gibeah a great smoke was made in the city, as if it were burning. "And Benjamin turned back and behold there went up **קָלִיל - הָעִיר** heavenward."

Ezek. 28 12. "Thou sealest up the sum, full of wisdom, **קָלִיל** in beauty."

Ezek. 27 3. The same phrase is used by Tyre of herself.

Lam. 2 15. Same use.

Ps. 51 19 (Heb. 21). "Then wilt thou delight in sacrifices of righteousness **קָלִיל וְקָלִיל**."

Briggs adds Ps. 50: 2, emending **מִקְלִיל** so that it becomes like Ezek. Of these 14 (or 15) instances, 4 (or 5) are of the type "perfect in beauty"; 3 of the type "wholly of

blue"; 2 of the type "utterly pass away or burn." In all these 9 (or 10), relation to the ritual is wholly precluded. Of the rest, the burning wholly of a devoted city may conceivably have religious significance; twice the word describes the utter consumption of offerings by burning; but in both cases the offerings are specified by their own technical names, and even thus the passages are as late as P or E². Finally, once, Ps. 51, it appears as the name of a sacrifice parallel with *עולה* and, from a literary point of view, parallel with "sacrifices of righteousness." This passage is of the restoration period.

From this evidence, it seems very improbable that the word acquired its full technical meaning as early as the time of JE so that when it is used alone and unsupported by a parallel name of offering, as here, it can designate burnt offerings. Even if the word can be so used thus early, it must imply a sharp contrast, and here there is no occasion for such suggestion; instead, a broad inclusive term is to be expected. These considerations in favor of a late date are quite apart from the tendency of the verse to connect priests with sacrifice, and are sufficient, it would seem, to destroy any such value as of the time of JE. It is easy to suppose that a late editor, finding no reference in the Blessing to what at his time he regarded as one of the chief functions of the priesthood, inserted this verse to complete the picture, either with poor linguistic skill, or with poor success in the matter of its preservation.

The conclusion then is that in the pentateuchal narratives of J and E nothing is known of a connection of priests with sacrifices.

§ 4. *The early narratives of the Pentateuch.*

References to sacrifice are so numerous in these early narratives, and of such a character, that we are certainly justified in supposing that they represent fairly and fully the practice in Israel, or, to be more exact, the notions of Israel as to the origin of the practices of the times of J and E, practices the origin of which every one was ready to speculate upon. All

the patriarchs built altars and offered sacrifices, and this means, of course, that tradition was busy accounting for the sacredness of certain sites in Canaan. Many were thus explained; shall we say that this list was the complete list? It would be nearer the truth to say that tradition busied itself chiefly with the more important and noted of the sacred sites. The reputation rather than the sacredness of a site determined the story. This habit of referring the origin of sacred locations to the remote past is in sharp contrast with the story of the origin of the ark and its contents, and of the priests in the later narratives. These are referred back to the time of Moses. Thus even in the tradition of their origin, priests and sacrifice are not brought together, as they certainly would have been, had the connection of the two been considered essential.

The primitive codes of both J and E, as extant, ignore the priesthood, although specifying the feasts and the presentation of offerings.³⁰ None were to appear empty before Yahwe; and E's code insures the utmost simplicity of the altar.³¹ Moses built an altar and twelve pillars, and sent young men of the Israelites to sacrifice.³² Balak and Balaam, who built altars and sacrificed,³³ were neither of them credited with a priestly rank.

We have thus examined the evidence down to the time of the temple, and find from this early literature that sacrifice seems to have been regarded primarily as an individual, or at most a family, affair. A man could offer a sacrifice acceptably alone, without calling in any one else for the purpose, and without observing any formality which the writers think it essential to report. If, however, it was a family affair, that very fact tended to give it a greater degree of formality, a result that inevitably attends a function in which the participating group increases in number. But thus far there is no evidence that any one was assigned to sacerdotal duty at an altar in connection with sacrifice. Nevertheless there was in existence an order of priests, with certain

³⁰ Ex. 34 12 ff. J. 20 22-23 E.

³² Ex. 24 4 f. E.

³¹ Ex. 20 24.

³³ Num. 22 40 E, and later.

wellknown functions. These functions had been earlier performed by the patriarchs, just as the patriarchs had performed sacrifices and as heads of the house still did. This early development of the priesthood in Israel may perhaps be accounted for by saying that the priesthood was brought with the tribes of the south as they came into Canaan, while sacrifice as we know it was learned by them from the tribes of the promised land, with whom they joined to make up the people of Israel. The writer feels justified also in concluding from this prior development of the priesthood with functions as stated, the greater simplicity of sacrificial functions. No special guild was required to perform them, for sacrifice was natural, voluntary, and not subject to rules whose infraction would render the service invalid.

§ 5. *Priests in the period of the kingdom, as pictured in pre-deuteronomic narratives.*

In the conflict in David's old age³⁴ over the succession to the throne, a priest is mentioned prominently on each side. Adonijah was supported by Abiathar, and Solomon by Zadok. The ceremony of anointing was naturally enough recorded only in the case of the successful candidate, and it was the priest who performed the ceremony. Priests appear in the lists of Solomon's officers,³⁵ as they had been in the armies of Saul and David. The temple was now built, as the king's sanctuary wherein priests officiated and the sacred objects were preserved. It is now commonly maintained that the only altar in connection with the temple was the old one on the site. The union of the two essentially distinct phases of the religion of the day is doubtless an example of what took place all over the land.

When the temple was completed, priests brought the ark to put it in its place in the new sanctuary.³⁶ The passage describing it has been edited, but the statement is so thoroughly in accord with earlier representations of the priestly duties that there is no reason for doubting its correctness. In the course of his wiping out of Baal worship in

³⁴ 1 K. 1.

³⁵ 1 K. 4 2.

³⁶ 1 K. 8 2.

Israel, Jehu announced a great sacrifice to Baal, and gathered together all his worshippers, including his prophets and priests, and slew them;³⁷ but there is nothing to show the part taken by either class in the sacrifice. Perhaps the writer did not have a very clear idea himself of the transaction or transactions which he is reporting. The verse is a detail under the more general statement³⁸ that "Jehu smote all that remained of the house of Ahab in Jezreel, and all his great men, and his familiar friends, and his priests, until he left him none remaining." The personal attachment of the priests to the king has been repeatedly noted.

In Judah, at this same time, Jehoiada the priest was taking a leading part in overthrowing Athaliah and seating Joash on the throne; and through the whole reign of Joash the priests are much in evidence, especially taking charge of the repair of the temple. The revolution in Judah, as in Israel, involved of course the purification of the worship.

A hundred years later, at about the time of the overthrow of the northern kingdom, Ahaz sent to Urijah the priest³⁹ the pattern of the altar at Damascus. At his direction Urijah made an altar like it, and Ahaz drew near to it, "and he burnt his burnt offering and his meal offering, and poured his drink offering, and sprinkled the blood of his peace offerings upon the altar." He changed the location of the altar which was already before the temple, and made a discrimination between the two, the older (brazen) one being reserved for the king to inquire by, if the translation is allowed to stand.⁴⁰ The addition to the apparatus seems to involve an addition to the cult also, and the Damascus altar may well imply Damascus ceremonial. There is evidently an attempt made in the paragraph to explain an innovation, but it needs the key of a better knowledge of the earlier practice in Israel to render us sure of the development. It is clear that there had been one altar, and now there are two, one brazen and one built up; and the one is for certain uses on the part of the king, and the other for more general uses.

³⁷ 2 K. 10 18 ff.³⁸ 2 K. 10 11.³⁹ 2 K. 16 10 ff.⁴⁰ V. 16.

Still later we read⁴¹ that a priest was sent back from the east to Samaria to instruct the people in the way of the god of the land.

The passages cited are all the passages which give specific information about priests in the literature of the period.

§ 6. *Sacrifices during the same period.*

Sacrifices are not often mentioned in the narratives of the period; and when they do appear, priests are not in connection with them. Solomon offers a thousand burnt offerings on the altar at the great high place at Gibeon.⁴² On the occasion of bringing up the ark to the temple,⁴³ already referred to, the king is said to have made sacrifices, but no allusion is made to participation in them on the part of the priests, although the narrative is explicit that they were present and brought up the ark. The early account⁴⁴ of the bringing of the ark from the country of the Philistines to Bethshemesh represents the harvesters slaughtering the kine and sacrificing. A later element⁴⁵ represents the Levites as coming up and caring for the ark, but does not connect them with the sacrifice.

It is in this period that the Elijah narrative belongs.⁴⁶ It is made exceedingly interesting from the wealth of detail; and for the same reason it is very important from our point of view, because, from the nature of the case, the detail is sure to cover the full ritual. We may be confident that the participants did not neglect any point of the ceremony at the risk of invalidating it, and the narrator would certainly not overlook in his description any feature the omission of which would give the sceptical reader opportunity to say that Baal refused to answer because of certain serious defects in the ritual. The only officials mentioned as present are the prophets, and the place and the altars are purely occasional. If the presence of priests had been deemed necessary, at either the earlier or the later stages of the tradition, it seems entirely probable that they would have been incorporated in the story.

⁴¹ 2 K. 17 27.

⁴⁴ 1 Sam. 6.

⁴² 1 K. 3 4.

⁴⁵ V. 15.

⁴³ 1 K. 8.

⁴⁶ 1 K. 18.

§ 7. *Priests and sacrifices in the prophetic writings before Deuteronomy.*

In Amos there is one allusion to a priest,⁴⁷ and that is to Amaziah, called the priest of Bethel. With the king's knowledge at least he commands the prophet to cease prophesying against Bethel, for it is the king's sanctuary, a royal house. From this it is evident that there was hostility between priest and prophet, and if the priests were, in the opinion of the prophet, an important factor in the religious practices which he condemns so heartily (cf. later), he would scarcely have ignored them in his denunciations as he does. In the passage above it is to be noted that it is Amaziah who aggressively opposes Amos. Even in 4 4.5, circumstantial and specific as the picture is, there is seemingly no room for them.

"Come to Bethel and transgress,
To Gilgal and multiply transgression;
And bring your sacrifices every morning,
Your tithes every three days;
And offer a sacrifice of thanksgiving of that which is leavened,
And proclaim free will offerings and publish them:
For this pleaseth you."

Still more pronounced is the chapter following, in the passage beginning, "I hate, I despise your feasts." Here various kinds of offerings and sacrifice are specified, with the names of the instruments of music and the revelry that accompanied them; but there is lacking any suggestion that possibly priestly teaching or usurpation of prerogative was involved or accountable for the sin. Verse 25, "Did ye bring unto me sacrifices and offerings in the wilderness forty years, O house of Israel?" ought to be good testimony as to the development of sacrifice in the nation, and doubtless would be, were we in Amos' place to understand just what he meant. The burden of his counsel is clear enough. Men are desiring the day of Yahwe for the sake of the joy which they thought it would bring them. It will not bring joy and prosperity, says the prophet. You rely on sacrifices to secure Yahwe's favor. It will not be thus secured, for he

⁴⁷ 7. 10 ff.

hates them. During the wilderness wanderings, when, if ever, he carried you along with the tenderest care, his favor was not secured by sacrifices. Righteousness and justice is the basis of acceptance with him. The picture which he gives of his own day is not that of a prescribed ritual of sacrifice, attributable to priestly self-assertion, but of a people gone wild with feasting, easing their conscience the while with the thought that it has a religious value. However unclear the prophet's exact allusion to the past may be, it seems clear that the priests are not in his thoughts.

Hosea's denunciation of sacrifice is for the same reason as that of Amos. The multiplication of altars is a sin.⁴⁸ They sacrifice flesh and eat it. Ephraim says, "I am rich"⁴⁹ and his feasting and sacrificing follows. Sin they disclaim, but they multiply sacrifice nevertheless. It is a pleasure and license, and not an obligation laid upon them. And the punishment is of a kind with the wrong; their sacrifices they will have to eat. It shall be the bread of mourners, which cannot come into the house of God;⁵⁰ their feasting will be simply feasting, with no religious value. Hosea's familiar figure of idolatry as harlotry rises naturally in the mind of one familiar with the conditions, as the feasting⁵¹ with harlots on hilltops under oaks and poplars and terebinths because the shade is good seems to have been a feature of the revelry. This, however, is not a picture of a system developed as a legal requirement under the direction of priests, as the post-exilic sacrifice under the priestly code. It is a practice that developed spontaneously, under the influence of popular causes and of mistaken popular notions of religion.

Hosea makes frequent mention of priests and holds them responsible, along with other leaders, for the moral delinquencies of the people. He charges them with crimes, even with murder.⁵² The fourth chapter is instructive; he begins with a picture of the country, "there is no truth nor goodness, nor knowledge of God in the land;" and the priests are responsible: "My people are destroyed for lack

⁴⁸ 8 11 ff.⁵⁰ 9 4.⁴⁹ 12. 7 ff. Cf. also 10. 1.⁵¹ 4 12 ff.⁵² 6. 9.

of knowledge: because thou hast rejected knowledge I will also reject thee, that thou shalt be no priest to me: seeing thou hast forgotten the law⁵³ of thy God, I also will forget thy children." He further describes them as feeding on the sin of the people and setting their heart on their iniquity. Idolatry and sacrifice are first mentioned later, and in the paragraph describing them priests are not mentioned. Feeding on the people's sin does not naturally refer to their sacrifices, but to the sinfulness described above. Idolatry and sacrifice may be sinful, but moral questions are thus far in the prophet's mind. Hosea is as far removed as Amos from laying emphasis upon priests in connection with sacrifice (contrast their connection with the law), although he does not spare them in his denunciation of all leaders for leading the people astray.

Isaiah's own writings come only slightly into account. He says⁵⁴ that Yahwe is satiated with sacrifices; and he (or an editor) does not include priests in the list of rulers whom he denounces.⁵⁵ If the temple and the altar had brought to others the same vision which came to Isaiah of God's glory and their own unworthiness, on the one hand, and their glorious mission on the other, the course of Israel's religious development would have been very different.

Micah bears the same testimony to sacrifice as the other prophets already mentioned. He states the fundamental difficulty very clearly.⁵⁶ The sin of the soul cannot be atoned for by anything less than righteousness of soul, not even by giving up the fruit of the body. Priests he mentions⁵⁷ only to rebuke them for their venality. They teach for hire, as the prophets divine for money, and the heads judge for reward. This carries us back to the earlier statements of the teaching function of the priests. And this teaching function must not be supposed to be confined to the correct method of performing rites of worship. If it had been thus specific and technical, certainly the particular subject of the teaching would have been more definitely in

⁵³ Certainly not the rules governing sacrifice!

⁵⁴ 1 11 ff.

⁵⁵ 3 1 ff.

⁵⁶ 6 6.

⁵⁷ 3 11.

mind when authors make mention of the teaching. If, for example, the teaching meant the instruction in the proper method of sacrifice in order that it should be acceptable to God, the allusion would have been to the subject of sacrifices, and not simply to the teaching. Moreover, it is impossible to account for the uniform omission of priests in descriptions of sacrifice by saying that their presence was assumed as a matter of course. It is true, what had once been a custom might well have been taken for granted in later times, but we cannot go so far along this line as to assume the custom itself, for the existence of which there is no good evidence in the history of the people. And it does not seem justified to rely upon comparative study of Semitic religion entirely, and assume the practices of other tribes as the custom in Israel. It is specially to be noted that the feature of religious ceremony against which these early prophets protest vigorously is that which is clearly allied with the Canaanitish religion.

§ 8. *The story of Eli.*

The interesting reference to the priesthood in the narrative of the boyhood of Samuel⁵⁸ has been left to this time, for it is assigned to a period shortly before the Deuteronomic code. Eli, the father, is called priest, and Hophni and Phineas, his sons, are priests. It does not easily appear how the title "the" priest as applied to Eli can be used to show that there was at this time a clearly defined difference of rank which later developed into the high priesthood. The relation of father to son is enough to explain all the difference of rank that is observable in the narrative, especially if we add the evident old age of the father. The title "the priest" is not an exclusive title, and need have no more particular force than the title "the prophet." The hereditary feature of the priesthood would be more of an argument for differences in rank, were it not that in this very narrative the succession was broken under the power of another principle, which is thus proven to be superior to the hereditary principle.

⁵⁸ 1 Sam. i ff.

Eli had nothing to do with the sacrifices, and did not even know of the irregularities of his sons in regard to them. But he did (shall we say continue to?) give counsel, in this case to Hannah. He was served by the lad Samuel, and gave him counsel as to his message from God. His was the more important function, the one that connects him with the earlier priesthood, if we understand it correctly. Hophni and Phineas came into connection with sacrifices. Their concern with them was by way of collecting their dues. Their right to portions from the sacrifices is conceded in the narrative. The irregularity which was discovered by the worshipper, or at least by the tradition and the editor, was in their demanding too great an amount, and in demanding it before it had been cooked in the way chosen by the worshipper. May we not find in this latter case an allusion to the notion that the priests were members of the company of feasters, and so had a rightful share in the food; and that this notion was violated by their taking a portion before it was prepared for the feast? Evidently the narrative reveals a stage in the process of fixing the method and the amount of the revenues to be allowed the priests from the offerings. Supposably they always had had their living from their profession, and it is perfectly natural to suppose that in the grouping together of the several elements of worship in certain sanctuaries, of which they had the general care, an allowance should be made them from the sacrifices which were brought in. This development, however, did not necessarily involve the assumption of control over, or sacerdotal participation in, the rite of sacrifice. In the case in hand, the two priests confine their self-assertion to the improper demand of portions. The position of Eli is the more dignified one, and seems to favor the view that we are maintaining, that priests took but a subordinate part in sacrifice, and that their connection with sacrifice was a subordinate part of a priest's function.

If we ask what development there was, if any, in the matter under discussion during the period of the monarchy, we find that there was a development, and that it

corresponded with the political and social changes that took place, being in fact part of them. Territorial divisions supplanted tribal relations, sanctuaries became fixed, and fixed sanctuaries developed fixed officials. Cities developed, and uneven development of cities was accompanied by uneven development of sanctuaries. The more business there was at the sanctuary, the greater the number of attendants required to do the work, and the more common the relegation of various parts of the work to these various attendants. The social element of worship developed a relatively great importance, and with its inevitable tendency to extravagance and formality, became a matter of great concern to the prophets. Very likely there was a decrease in personal private worship, especially in the entirely spontaneous and informal sacrifice of earlier times. But there seems to be no indication that this development had thus far led to an idea that the intervention of the priests was essential to the validity of sacrifice, or that their growing concern in them was anything more than the laying of more of the work involved upon servants.

§ 9. *Priests and sacrifice in the Deuteronomic period.*

As we come down to the Deuteronomic literature, the question is not whether priests had any connection with sacrifice, for it is obvious that they had; but whether their connection was an essential one. Has the theory of sacrifice been modified so as from now on to require the presence and participation of a recognised priest? The answer must be negative. It will, of course, be impossible to treat the two sides of the subject separately.

Deuteronomy starts from the same position that is assumed by the prophets, that the multitude of sacrifices here, there, and everywhere throughout the land was injurious to the interests of a pure religion. The reasons assigned need not be the same; and the remedies proposed by the prophets and by the code will not necessarily be the same. The prophets opposed them by appealing to the people in the interest of a more spiritual type of religion. This emphasis was, of course, impossible in the case of legislation; indeed it remains even

to this day very largely an ideal. When those interested applied themselves to the task of reforming religious customs by legislation, Deuteronomy resulted.⁵⁹ The many sacrifices were legislated out of existence. Thereafter their meaning and their method must be learned by performing them at a central sanctuary. There a prescribed ritual must be observed. Sacrifices to Yahwe outside of Jerusalem, and sacrifices to other gods than Yahwe, suffered one and the same fate. The reforms instituted on the basis of the code reveal the fact, which could not fail to have arisen, that in addition to, and very likely largely superseding, the free and entirely spontaneous sacrifice without attendant and with varying formality, there were many high places equipped for the larger and more ceremonious feasts. Here there were necessarily many attendants; and these places of sacrifice were naturally in connection with the sanctuaries which were traditionally under the charge of the priests.

All this development, however, need not alter the theory of sacrifice to the extent of introducing the priest as essential to its efficacy.

As described in Deuteronomy, all sacrifices are to be offered in the temple at Jerusalem. All feasting elsewhere is to be plain feasting and not sacrifice. Feast the people might, wherever they would, but not with the blood, which previously had been poured upon the altar. If they would make their feast a sacrifice, they must bring it to the temple, except that in certain cases (of tithes) they might sell the article at home, and with the proceeds buy another at Jerusalem.

With the people and their sacrifices there came to Jerusalem also the Levites whose occupation had disappeared. Here they were assigned revenues, and duties of an inferior kind. Also Levites who were possessed of property by means of which they had maintained themselves, if they chose to join their fellow Levites at Jerusalem, were entitled to the same dues. The whole body of Deuteronomic legis-

⁵⁹ We leave until later the question as to the extent to which the code introduces actual reforms, and take it as it stands.

lation, so far as it brings priests into connection with sacrifices at all, concerns the amounts of the dues to be given them, and the method of collecting these dues. Take a couple of illustrations. Tithes are commanded.⁶⁰ They are to be eaten before Yahwe. The offerers were to eat and rejoice, and not forget the Levite. Every third year the tithe is to be laid up,⁶¹ and the Levite and the fatherless are to enjoy it.

Firstfruits are specifically commanded, and the priests' part is dictated as follows:⁶² the offerer is to bring his firstfruits in a basket to the priest of those days, who is to set the basket before the altar. But so little significance is attached to this intrinsically insignificant duty, that in a parallel verse (10) the command reads, "thou shalt set it down before Yahwe"; but it adds "and worship and rejoice, thou and thy house, the Levite and the sojourner."

The three national festivals are enjoined.⁶³ In case of the passover nothing is said of the priests and the Levites. The regulations for the feasts of weeks and of tabernacles command general rejoicing, and Levites are to be numbered among the members of the household.

In the directions which are given⁶⁴ concerning individual sacrifices, the offerings themselves are not commanded, but are assumed as being voluntarily rendered. If any one feature is emphasized, it is the joy and festivity of the occasion. Once and again (cf. 27 7 D²) men are bidden to rejoice, they and their households, and the "Levite that is within thy gates." The Levite, without inheritance, is a party to the rejoicing. Otherwise Levites are not alluded to.

Elsewhere⁶⁵ the revenues of the priests the Levites are

⁶⁰ Deut. 14 22 ff. ⁶¹ V. 28 f. ⁶² 26 1-4. ⁶³ Ch. 16. ⁶⁴ Ch. 12.

⁶⁵ 18 1-8. Vs. 1. 2 read: "The priests the Levites, all the tribe of Levi, shall have no portion nor inheritance with Israel: *they shall eat the offerings of Yahwe made by fire, and his inheritance. And they shall have no inheritance among their brethren: Yahwe is their inheritance as he hath spoken to them.*" The sentences in italics, 1 b, 2 a, can be spared. The latter one, 2 a, repeats 1 a; while in 1 b the word "inheritance," meaning Yahwe's sacrifice, conflicts with the common use of the word in this connection. לֵוִי וְכֹהֵן is distinctly a priestly word (P). The possible exceptions are this

definitely assigned. Inheritance they shall not have; Yahwe is their inheritance. Instead of inheritance the priests the Levites are given certain parts of the people's sacrifices, "for Yahwe thy God hath chosen him out of all thy tribes, to stand to minister in the name of Yahwe, him and his sons forever." This reason bids us look beyond the matter of the sacrifices for the explanation of the meaning of the "standing to minister" which was the assigned duty of the priests. Now in the Deuteronomic review of the history of the wanderings the writer refers back to Moses the setting apart of Levi, and he describes⁶⁶ his duties as being "to bear the ark of the covenant of Yahwe, to stand before Yahwe to minister unto him, and to bless in his name." The custody of the ark we have already noted. The meaning of the standing before Yahwe and the ministering in his name we see illustrated in a passage⁶⁷ which prescribes the proceedings in case of a murder by an unknown hand. It is commanded that the elders of the nearest city shall take a heifer and slay her, and the priests the sons of Levi shall come near, "for them Yahwe thy God hath chosen to minister unto him and to bless in the name of Yahwe; and according to their word shall every controversy and every stroke be." Then the elders are to assert their innocence, and other ceremonies follow. But the occasion is not one of sacrifice, so far as is disclosed by terminology or ritual. The functions of the priests in the case cited above are identical with those more fully described in 17 s ff.⁶⁸ namely, to serve as judges in matters difficult to adjudicate. Their judgment is to be final. One that hearkens not to "the priest that standeth to minister there before Yahwe thy God, or unto the judge, even that man shall die."

The priests the Levites were to have custody of the law,⁶⁹

verse, 1 Sam. 2 2s, in a redactional passage, and Josh. 13 14. This last verse is in a chapter containing sections from D and P. V. 14 is commonly assigned to D. But D has his similar statement in v. 33: "Yahwe is their inheritance." V. 14, with its characteristic priestly "יהוה ירשתם" are their inheritance," can easily be assigned to P.

⁶⁶ 10 s.

⁶⁸ Cf. also 19 17, in the case of perjury.

⁶⁷ Ch. 21 s.

⁶⁹ 17 1s.

and their law is to be taken by the king as the basis of the law of the kingdom. The priests in turn received the law from Moses.⁷⁰ In Moses' time they joined the great law-giver⁷¹ in charging the people to obey the law, and a similar responsibility is laid upon them by the code. When the army is disheartened because of an approaching battle, the priest is to address to them encouraging words, and other officials are to do likewise.⁷²

The Deuteronomic code then tends to show that the chief duties of the priests are in the line of the judicial and not the sacrificial. From the sacrifices they receive revenue (though not necessarily all of their revenue, for in earlier times they had been in the pay of the king and others), and we may suppose that this gave them a partial control in the matter, but it did not give them the essential or principal rôle in their performance. In the practical reforms that followed the discovery of the code, it is obvious that the priests had a controlling voice. The political and literary activity of the leaders of the nation in accordance with the new law, if not under its influence, needs no comment.

§ 10. *Priests and sacrifice in the later pre-exilic prophets.*

It remains to examine the group of prophets who wrote in the few years between the promulgation of the law of Deuteronomy and the exile, to discover whether their notion of sacrifice has suffered any marked change from that of their older comrades. Only Zephaniah and Jeremiah have any light to throw upon the question. The former of these says very little. Yahwe will soon cut off the *chemarim* with the priests.⁷³ Princes are roaring lions, judges are evening wolves, prophets are light and treacherous, priests have profaned the sanctuary, and done violence to the law; and he rebukes them all.⁷⁴

Jeremiah the prophet, son of a priest of Anathoth, seems likely to be a competent witness to the responsibility of priests in the sacrificial system of Israel. He is exceedingly severe in his denunciations of the priests, and of other lead-

⁷⁰ 31 9. 25.

⁷¹ 27 9.

⁷² Ch. 20.

⁷³ 1 4.

⁷⁴ 3 3. 4.

ers too, for that matter. His favorite grouping is the same as that of Zephaniah and Hosea, viz., king, prince, priests, and prophets. He felt that he was called upon to oppose like a wall the whole nation,⁷⁵ viz. king, princes, priests, prophets, and people. He rebukes the priests, for they do not ask where is Yahwe; ⁷⁶ prophets prophesy falsely and priests rule under their guidance,⁷⁷ they deal falsely; ⁷⁸ they and the prophets are profane and wicked in Yahwe's house.⁷⁹ They variously provoke Yahwe to anger.⁸⁰ In the punishments which he predicts, he usually groups them with other classes. They are to be astonished⁸¹ and ashamed,⁸² they are to be filled with drunkenness,⁸³ they are to go captive⁸⁴ and are to be given into the hands of their enemies.⁸⁵

The priests seem to have deserved harsh treatment at Jeremiah's hands, for they were foremost in the opposition to him. There are numerous other references to them, but little that is definite and exact, and certainly nothing which could be construed as connecting them with the sacrificial system in the mind of the prophet. According to this prophet, then, priests are a class holding a position of authority and influence, and guilty of moral delinquencies.

Jeremiah's terminology of sacrifice is rich, partly from the length of his extant writings and his interest in the subject, and partly without doubt because there was in reality a rich diversity of offerings in his day. Altars and high places abound.⁸⁶ Judah's gods are as numerous as her cities, and her altars to Baal are on every street, altars to burn incense to Baal. "Her children remember their altars and their asherim by the green trees upon the high hills."⁸⁷ One short paragraph is very familiar and striking: "Add your burnt offerings unto your sacrifices, and eat ye flesh. For I spake not unto your fathers, nor commanded them in the day that I brought them out of the land of Egypt, concerning burnt offerings or sacrifices: but this thing I commanded

⁷⁵ 1 18.⁷⁶ 2 8.⁷⁷ 5 21.⁷⁸ 6 18, 8 10.⁷⁹ 23 11.⁸⁰ 32 22.⁸¹ 4 9.⁸² 2 20.⁸³ 13 18.⁸⁴ 14 18.⁸⁵ 34 18, 20, written after Jeremiah's death.⁸⁶ 11 18.⁸⁷ 17 1 ff.

them, saying, Hearken unto my voice, etc."⁸⁸ The passage is often treated as if it were penned or inspired to teach the post-exilic origin of the priestly code. It is very little different from the complaints and arguments of the earlier prophets. It does not seem that the Deuteronomic reform had so modified or was so effectually modifying the situation as to demand a new doctrine from the prophets to meet new conditions. And one is compelled to wonder if, after all, the great reformation, as it is called, was a great reformation indeed. Centralization was the main issue, and yet some parts of the code seem to contemplate a very incomplete centralization to say the least. What was the reformation and what did it accomplish in the matters of which we are speaking? We cannot believe that it was as dramatic as pictured. The narrative largely ignores the time element, both in its causes and in its effects. And it reads like an attempt to make a saint out of the martyr Josiah. As for its causes, it stands at the close of a perfectly natural development. Most of the important sanctuaries had been in the northern kingdom. The code concerns Judah, and in Judah, Jerusalem was already the important place of worship, and there was little of centralization left to be accomplished, and to be attributed to the zeal of a king or to the invention of the Jerusalem priests.

As for its results, confessedly they were short-lived. If it was as sudden and drastic as is described, it must have had a reaction, whether we look for it in the changed policy of a succeeding king, or in the logic of the situation. And after the reaction, who was there to deny bold statements as to the reforms of Josiah? Moreover, the destruction of the city and the captivity was not conducive to thorough sifting of records even if the attempt had been made to secure historical accuracy.

The prophets had preached a reform which had as its object to make true religion penetrate into every human life. The Deuteronomic code had (supposably) taken away all the religion that most men knew. It could not continue.

Men would have forms of worship, and if Yahwe worship was defined as certain rites practised at Jerusalem, then other gods would easily steal away the people's hearts. The land was swept and garnished for the easy entrance of other gods.

The reformation would result in the exaltation of the temple and its ritual, and Jeremiah's words reflect this effect. The reaction, when it came, would not operate to lower the prestige of the temple; it would perhaps raise it still more by extravagancies of various kinds; but it would chiefly bring back the old evil conditions in the country. The complaint of Jeremiah may well be the old complaint repeated; the conditions are not essentially changed. So the prophet again proclaims that acceptance with Yahwe is not by reason of sacrifices, whether many of them, scattered over the country, or costly ones and elaborate ritual in the temple at Jerusalem. He could not be enthusiastic in support of the reform. It was easy for him to ignore it in his prophetic message, because his interest was very distinct from it.

The importance of the Deuteronomic reform of the cult seems to have been greatly exaggerated. In fact the whole course of events was very soon broken off by the exile, and it is a matter of speculation as to what would have happened otherwise. And yet we cannot fail to see that at the time of Josiah the priestly class had greatly increased in influence. For without doubt the code, so far as it conserved the temple cult, does not seriously misrepresent it.

§ 11. *Conclusion.*

The conclusion that the writer reaches for himself is that in early times sacrifices seem to have been offered without even the presence of any one with priestly prerogatives. The gravitation of sacrifices to certain noted sanctuaries and finally to Jerusalem led to an increasing reliance upon the priestly attendants of these sanctuaries for various parts of the ceremonies. At the time of the reformation of Josiah they were receiving revenue regularly from the offerings, and perhaps some of the offerings were invented chiefly for

purposes of revenue; but this was their principal connection with sacrifice. Deuteronomy does not enunciate any different theory in this respect, and in practice did not prove acceptable to the prophets, or epoch-making for the people.

So that, down to the time of the exile, the priesthood may be ignored in the question of the meaning of sacrifice, whether in the attempt to discover its essence we go far back toward the origin of this act of worship, or think to find its meaning in the fullest development of the rite in the years before the exile.

Communication from Professor Hilprecht

In accordance with the action taken by the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis at its last meeting in Philadelphia, given in full below, Professor Hilprecht's reply to the Society through its Corresponding Secretary is published herewith.

807 SPRUCE STREET,
PHILADELPHIA, January 15, 1908.

PROFESSOR JULIUS A. BEWER, *Corresponding Secretary of the "Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis," Union Theological Seminary, 700 Park Avenue, New York.*

DEAR SIR: I acknowledge receipt of your letter of January 4, 1908, advising me that at a meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, held in this city on December 31, 1907, the following preamble and resolution were adopted:

"WHEREAS charges reflecting on American Oriental scholarship have been made against Professor H. V. Hilprecht:

"RESOLVED, That this Society shares the desire expressed by a number of American Orientalists that a complete reply to these charges be made in the *Journal* of this Society or elsewhere."

I have the honor to enclose a copy of a communication, and of its enclosures, which I have to-day sent to Professor Charles R. Lanman, touching upon the expressed desire of a number of American Orientalists in which your Society shares, and I trust this will evidence my intention to make complete reply to the charges made against me.

The intended publication will be so large that it would be an undue trespass upon the columns of the *Journal* of your Society to make it therein. I shall, however, appreciate it if you will cause the insertion in your *Journal* of this letter and all its enclosures in full.

Yours truly,

(Signed)

H. V. HILPRECHT.

807 SPRUCE STREET,
PHILADELPHIA, JANUARY 15, 1908.

PROFESSOR CHARLES R. LANMAN,
9 Farrar Street, Cambridge, Mass.

DEAR PROFESSOR LANMAN: Referring to the letter addressed to me, dated April 18, 1906, by sixteen American Orientalists (sent to me with your note dated April 25, 1906), published, with my reply of April 27, 1906, and an introductory note by you in the October, 1907, issue of *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, I enclose herewith copies of the following:

1. My letter to the Board of Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania, dated January 6, 1908, urging the full publication of all data in their possession and mine bearing upon the "Peters-Hilprecht Controversy."

2. Letter to me dated January 8, 1908, embodying the minute of the Board of Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania approving of the full publication by me.

The report on the "Peters-Hilprecht Controversy" to the Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania, by their special committee, dated June 26, 1905, gave only a slight indication of the mass of material presented during the course of its investigation, but it is my intention as speedily as possible to publish all the matter, as indicated in my letter to the Trustees, in a manner which I hope you and all your colleagues will consider "full and frank," and which will make it readily accessible to every one interested in the controversy. My plans for the publication not being as yet fully matured, I am unable at this time to name a definite date of issue, but I believe it will be within two or at most three months. Surely I, more than any one else, am now interested in not delaying the publication, and the enclosed statement (3) covering a summary of Dr. Peters' original suggestions as to the method of the investigation and of my comment thereon, indicate that from the first (January, 1905) I have not been an advocate of secrecy.

Possibly it may later seem to me of advantage in clearing up this matter, to request a committee of your "sixteen" to come here to look into the methods employed in dealing with the material from the Temple Library at Nippur possessed by the University of Pennsylvania.

Kindly acquaint your fifteen colleagues with the contents of this communication and its enclosures, and may I not expect, as a matter of simple justice to me, that you will request the publi-

cation in full of all I send you in the next issue of *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*.

Faithfully yours,

H. V. HILPRECHT.

(Three enclosures.)

January 6, 1908.

To the Board of Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania.

GENTLEMEN: In view of the continued public and private agitation, both against the University and the undersigned head of its Assyriological section, upon the subject of the so-called "Peters-Hilprecht Controversy," as evidenced in part by the letter addressed to me April 18, 1906, by sixteen American Orientalists, and published with my reply and an introductory note in *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, October, 1907 (vol. xxiv, no. 1, pp. 92-94 — copy submitted herewith), and by the preamble and resolution adopted on December 31, 1907, in this city by "The Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis," an official copy of which sent by its Corresponding Secretary has just reached me to-day (a copy of which is enclosed), I respectfully submit that it is my conviction that the report of your committee as made public in 1905 has not been generally accepted as satisfactory, because your proceedings were conducted in private, and you have not made public the "pleadings" and testimony upon which it rests.

I am further convinced that our absolute silence in the face of the continued attacks against me, and through me, against the University, is producing increasingly serious injury to the reputation of the University, as I know it is doing to my reputation as a scholar and a man, and I feel that the suffering and constant mental strain to which I have been for more than two years subjected, by reason of the continued malicious attacks and insinuations against me, cannot be longer endured by me in silence with a preservation of my self-respect. I therefore respectfully request that you either —

1. Cause the publication of all the correspondence, documents, and evidence bearing upon this matter, presented before and during the investigation conducted by your committee in the year 1905, together with extracts from vol. xx of Series A of *The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, reviews and critiques thereon, and correspondence in your possession and mine, both before and since 1905, bearing upon the controversy, or —

2. Cause to be published all or such portions of the record of

your committee of investigation as you may deem proper, with permission to me to personally make publication of all material bearing upon the matter, as above indicated, of which you did not make use, in a personal supplemental statement to be issued by me relating to the matter, or—

3. Permit me personally to make the entire publication and furnish me with that portion of the data possessed by you alone.

Very respectfully yours,

(Signed)

H. V. HILPRECHT.

While appreciating that you may not be in a position to determine at once how this matter must be treated as to the details, permit me to add that to me it seems necessary that you forthwith make public announcement (or permit me to do so), that publication of the full details of this matter will be made as speedily as possible.

H. V. H.

1/7/08.

UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY,
700 PARK AVENUE, NEW YORK, JANUARY 4, 1908.

PROFESSOR H. V. HILPRECHT,
University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

DEAR SIR: At a meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, held in Philadelphia, December 31, 1907, the following preamble and resolution were adopted:

"WHEREAS charges reflecting on American Oriental scholarship have been made against Professor H. V. Hilprecht:

"RESOLVED, That this Society shares the desire expressed by a number of American Orientalists that a complete reply to these charges be made in the *Journal* of this Society or elsewhere."

Yours truly,

(Signed)

JULIUS A. BEWER,
Corresponding Secretary.

PHILADELPHIA, January 15, 1908.

Document No. 3, accompanying letter to Professor Charles R. Lanman, Cambridge, Mass., dated January 15, 1908.

Dr. John P. Peters, in presenting (by means of two documents, one dated January 11, 1905, and one undated, but sent to Philadelphia shortly prior to that date) his "suspicions" or charges against me, suggested that the Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania conduct "a full investigation, and one which goes beyond the mere asking Professor Hilprecht about these mistakes," by making use of the knowledge and abilities of members of their staff, namely, Messrs. Fisher, Clay, Ranke, and Jastrow.

He further stated that to his surprise the subject-matter of his communications was already more widely known than he had supposed, "and the very worst is believed"; that a proposition had been made to publish the whole matter at a meeting held in Boston at the end of December, 1904, and publish it in the papers. This he had opposed, urging the "asking for an investigation on the part of the trustees."

Dr. Peters continued, "I believe that it must be a thorough and searching investigation, but in the best interest of science, as well as of the University, if such an investigation is made, it should not be published. Such publication would be a great scandal and would only do injury," adding, "I am doing everything in my power to prevent it from being published, or to prevent an unfair and unjust judgment being made in advance."

The two documents above referred to were placed in my hands, with the request to answer them, about January 20, 1905, and in returning them on January 24, 1905, I made to the Provost of the University the following requests:—

"1. That at your earliest convenience you call an extra session of the entire Board of Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania, before which both the Rev. Dr. John P. Peters, as my accuser, and I, as defendant, be summoned.

"2. That the two documents referred to above, in their present form, be read in the presence of the entire assembly.

"3. That in addition the Rev. Dr. John P. Peters be asked to explain what precisely he means by these charges preferred against me, and that a stenographical record be kept of his answers.

"4. That I then be authorized to answer these charges in the presence of this entire assembly, and that a stenographical record be kept also of my answers.

"5. That afterwards both the Rev. Dr. John P. Peters and I be informed in writing of the charges, answers, and findings in this case by the Board of Trustees.

"6. That, contrary to the threefold proposal of the Rev. Dr. John P. Peters, on p. 4 of his letter of January 11, referred to above ('to prevent publication'), the results as obtained by the Board, be given the widest publicity, and in order to protect me against similar attacks hinted at in Dr. Peters's letter, I, in particular, be allowed to publish—

"a) The two documents of said Rev. Dr. John P. Peters,

"b) The stenographical records of his and my answers,

"c) The result of the investigation by your Board."

(Signed)

H. V. HILPRECHT.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA, OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
COLLEGE HALL, UNIVERSITY, PHILADELPHIA, 1/8/1908.

DEAR PROFESSOR HILPRECHT: I am instructed by the Trustees of the University to acknowledge the receipt of your letter to them, which was received on January 7, a few hours before the stated meeting of the Corporation.

Your letter was read to the Board, and I was instructed to send you a copy of the Minute showing the action thereupon taken. It is as follows:

"A communication from Professor Hilprecht, dated January 6, 1908, upon the subject-matter of the so-called 'Peters-Hilprecht Controversy,' having been submitted to the Board, it was, after a full consideration of the subject,

"RESOLVED, That the Board approved of Professor Hilprecht's proposal to publish the entire correspondence, documents, and evidence bearing upon the question, and that any information in the possession of the University which he may call for be furnished to him."

Very respectfully yours,

EDWARD ROBINS,
Assistant Secretary.

TO PROFESSOR H. V. HILPRECHT,
807 Spruce Street, Philadelphia.

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Daniel 3 5, Sūmpōnyāh

PHILLIPS BARRY

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

THE presence in the Aramaic text of Daniel 3 5 of three loan-words from the Greek, to wit, *kitharos*: *κίθαρς*, *psantērīn*: *ψαλτήριον*, and *sūmpōnyāh*: *συμφωνία*, is conceded to have an important bearing on the questions of authorship and date of the book, as showing that it must have been written subsequent to the dissemination of Greek influences in Asia, following the conquests of Alexander the Great. With the history and semasiology of one of these words, namely, *sūmpōnyāh*, I shall be occupied in the following pages. My purpose is to show that the interpretation recommended by the margin of the Revised Version, which is *sūmpōnyāh*: 'bagpipe,' following the definition of the word given by Rabbi Saadia,¹ is confirmed by evidence derived from known facts concerning the sense of *συμφωνία* and its derivatives in various languages, ancient and modern. In this respect my remarks are by way of reply to "*Συμφωνία* not a Bagpipe," by Professor George F. Moore, of the Harvard Divinity School, written for this JOURNAL (vol. xxiv. part ii. 1905, pp. 166-175) in answer to my article,

¹ Author of the commentary on Daniel, ascribed by the Shilte haggibborim to R. Saadia da Gaon (d. 942), but now believed to be the work of another scholar of the same name, who lived and wrote two centuries later.

"On Luke xv. 25, *συμφωνία*: Bagpipe," printed in this JOURNAL (vol. xxiii. part ii. 1904, pp. 180-190).

A question which naturally suggests itself at the outset, in connection with the interpretation of *sūmpōnyāh*, renders necessary the presentation of the following facts, here gathered together for the first time.

EXCURSUS. *Bagpipes and bagpipers of ancient Greece and Rome.*

I. BOMBATAΙΟΣ.

Aristophanes, *Acharnians*, 862-66:

- ΒΟΙ. ἑμὲς δ' ὅσοι θεΐβαθεν αὐληταὶ πάρα
τοῖς ὀστίνουις φυσῆτε τὸν πρωκτὸν κυνός.
ΔΙΚ. παῦ' ἐς κόρακας· οἱ σφήκες οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν θυρῶν;
πόθεν προσέπτανθ' οἱ κακῶς ἀπολούμενοι
ἐπὶ τὴν θύραν μοι Χαιριδῆς βομβάυλιοι;

Of the various interpretations of the curious phrase, *φυσῆτε τὸν πρωκτὸν κυνός*, the only one consistent with common sense is that of Van Leeuwen:

Inflate fistulis podicem caninum. Habent igitur tibiae utriculares, ex pelle canina, et in podicem insertae sunt fistulae sive tibiae osseae.

It is further reinforced by the fact that the simplest and most primitive form of the bagpipe is made of the entire skin of a small animal, into which the pipes are inserted as into a reservoir of air.² Moreover, the evident play upon words, *i.e.* *βομβύλιος*: 'bumble-bee,' and *αὐλός*: 'pipe,' in the word *βομβάυλιος*, strikes the reader at once, though less forcibly than it must have struck the Athenian audience, as suggesting the principle of the drone-bass, the most obvious feature of the music of the bagpipe.³ Following the expla-

² Carl Engel writes: "In Poland and in the Ukraine, it used to be made of the whole skin of the goat, in which the shape of the animal, whenever the bagpipe was expanded with air, appeared fully retained, exhibiting even the head with the horns, hence the bagpipe was called 'kosà,' which signifies a goat." (*Musical Instruments*, 119.)

³ A modern parallel is the German *Himmelchen*, a small bagpipe, described by M. Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum*, iii. 42.

nation of Hesychius, βομβαύλιος · ὁ αὐλητής · ἀπὸ τοῦ βομβεῖν, Blaydes interprets the word, βομβαύλιοι pro βομβύλιοι dictum, quasi βομβοῦντες αὐλοῖς, Angl. 'droners on the bagpipe.'

2. ἈΣΚΑΤΛΗΣ. Latin, *utricularius*.

Martial, *Epigrams*, book 10, iii. 7-8:

Voce ut loquatur psittacus coturnicis,
Et concupiscat esse Canus *ascaules*?⁴

Though not indeed found in the extant writings of any Greek author, the fact that this word appears in Latin as a borrowed word already in the second century of our era, is good reason to assume its currency in the popular speech. Moreover, given *ascaules*, that is, ἀσκαύλης, as the name of the musician, it follows that the instrument on which he played was *ascaulos*, that is, ἄσκαυλος, literally ἀσκός: 'bag,' and αὐλός: 'pipe.' Both words have survived in modern Greek, according to the following lexicographical authorities:

1550.	ascauleon	sackpfeiff ⁵
1587.	ἀσκαύλης, ἀσκωδός	Eyn sackpfeiffer ⁶
1889.	ἀσκαύλης	a player of bagpipes ⁷
	ἄσκαυλος	a bagpipe
	ἀσκίαυλος	a bagpipe
	ἀσκόαυλος	a bagpipe
1900.	ἀσκαύλης	Dudelsackpfeifer ⁸

The Emperor Nero played upon the bagpipe, according to a well-known statement of his biographer:

⁴ Martial's argument, emphasized by the metrical position of *ascaules*, is that he would no more use the language of a contemptible hack, than would the intelligent parrot chatter to quails, or the virtuoso Canus turn bagpiper. It follows from this, that the bagpipe was held in little esteem by the musically cultured in Martial's day.

⁵ Alberus, Dict., Y, 3a., cited by Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, s.v. "Sackpfeife."

⁶ Lexicon Trilingue, ex Thesaurο Roberti Stephani et Dictionario Ioannis Frisii. Argentorati, 1587, s.v. *utricularius*.

⁷ Ν. Κορτόπουλος, Λεξικὸν Ἑλληνοαγγλικόν. Ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1889.

⁸ Ρ. Α. Ρουσόπουλος, Λεξικὸν Ἑλληνογερμανικόν. Ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1900.

Sub exitu quidem vitae palam voverat, si sibi incolumis status permansisset, proditum se partae victoriae ludis etiam hydraulam et choraulam et utricularium.⁹

The word *utricularius* in this passage is a free Latin rendering of ἀσκαύλης. This is shown by comparison with the following passage from Dio Chrysostom, written with evident reference to Nero, as will appear from the examination of the context.

φασὶ δὲ καὶ γράφειν καὶ πλάττειν ἱκανὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι καὶ αὐλεῖν τῷ τε στόματι καὶ ταῖς μασχάλαις ἀσκὸν ὑποβάλλοντα.¹⁰

An interesting statement, as describing the exact manner in which the bagpipe was played.

The above evidence is sufficient to show that musical instruments constructed on the principle of grouping pipes around a reservoir of air were known to the ancients as early as the fifth century B.C. And these instruments were bagpipes. With this fact established I return to the question under discussion.

Συμφωνία, expressing the quality of the adjective *σύμφωνος*, is an abstract noun, denoting the combination of the idea expressed by *φωνή* in its widest sense. The adjective is found in the poems of Homer; *συμφωνία*, however, first appears in the writings of Plato, in a metaphorical sense. The writers on music, both Greek and Latin, from Aristotle to Boethius, give a special technical definition of the word, as applied to the relations of two musical tones, forming, according to ancient ideas, the extremes of a consonant interval.¹¹ According to Aristotle, the pleasing effect of *συμφωνία* is due to the fact that it is a fusion of things which are oppo-

⁹ Suetonius, *Nero*, 54.

¹⁰ Dio Chrysostom, *Orat.* lxxi. p. 381, Reiske. "They say he was a clever painter and sculptor, and knew how to play the pipe with his lips and the bag thrust under his arms."

¹¹ *Συμφωνία*, according to the Greek theorists, was a term used in a more restricted sense than "consonance," as it was held to apply only to the relation between tones forming the extremes of intervals numerically expressed by the ratios 2:1, 3:2, and 4:3. Cf. Bacchius, *Isagoge*, p. 293, von Jan.

sites, yet have a certain relation to each other.¹² Or, to cite in full, the more exact and technical definition of Porphyrius:

Συμφωνία is a term used to express the fusion and blending into one sound, of two sounds differing in pitch. A necessary condition of it is, that the two sounds shall together form a sound, differing in quality from either of the two sounds which by their fusion create said συμφωνία.¹³

It is an easy step, well in accordance with the laws of semasiology, for the abstract noun, συμφωνία, as used by the writers on music, in an abstract sense, already partially specialized, to acquire a concrete sense, specialized as the name of a musical instrument, by which some attribute, or quality, or peculiarity of said instrument is suggested, to which συμφωνία, in the technical and abstract sense, would apply.¹⁴

As the name of such a musical instrument, συμφωνία is of rare occurrence in the pages of the ancient Greek documents that have come down to us. Four instances, however, of its use in this sense are now accepted by scholars.

1. Polybius, xxvi. 1:

εἰ δὲ καὶ τῶν νεωτέρων αἰσθητοῦ τινος συνευωχουμένους ὀπουδήποτε, παρὴν μετὰ κερατίου καὶ συμφωνίας, ὥστε τοὺς πολλοὺς διὰ τὸ παράδοξον ἀνισταμένους φεύγειν.

2. Polybius, xxx. 26:

μετὰ ταῦτα τῆς συμφωνίας προκαλουμένης, ἀνεπήδα γυμνός, καὶ τοῖς αἰμοῖς προσπαῖζων ὤρχετο.

¹² Aristotle, *Problems*, xix. 38.

¹³ Porphyrius, p. 270, cited by Marquardt, on Aristoxenus, p. 16, Meibom.

¹⁴ "Συμφωνία δ' ἐστὶ δυοῖν φθόγγων ὀξύτητι καὶ βαρύτητι διαφερόντων κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ πτώσει καὶ κρᾶσις· δεῖ γὰρ τοὺς φθόγγους συγκρουσθέντας ἐν τι ἑτέρων εἶδος φθόγγου ἀποτελεῖν, παρ' ἐκείνου ἐξ ὧν φθόγγων ἡ συμφωνία γέγονεν."

¹⁴ M. Bréal writes: "An abstract word, instead of keeping its abstract sense, instead of remaining the exponent of an action, a quality, or a state, becomes the name of a material object. This fact is very frequent; sometimes the modified word preserves both meanings; sometimes, the abstract idea being forgotten, the material signification alone survives." (*Semantics*, p. 134.)

3. LXX, Daniel 3 5:

ὅτ' ἂν ἀκούσῃτε τῆς φωνῆς τῆς σάλπιγγος, σύριγγος καὶ κιθάρας, σαμβύκης καὶ ψαλτηρίου, συμφωνίας καὶ παντὸς γένους μουσικῶν, πεσόντες προσκυνήσατε τῇ εἰκόνι τῇ χρυσῇ ἣ ἐστησε Ναβουχοδονόσορ βασιλεὺς.

4. N.T., Luke 15 25:

ἦν δὲ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἐν ἀγρῷ· καὶ ὡς ἐρχόμενος ἤγγισε τῇ οἰκίᾳ ἤκουσε συμφωνίας καὶ χορῶν.

In the Latin, however, to which *συμφωνία*, in the form *symphonia*, came as a loan-word from the Greek, the usage in this sense is better attested. My researches have resulted in the discovery of over twenty-five passages in the works of authors during the period from 100 B.C. to 600 A.D., in which *symphonia* is used in such a connection that intelligible translation is impossible, unless it be supposed that the word is regarded as the name of a musical instrument.

1. Cicero, *Cael.* 35:

Accusatores quidem . . . 'comissiones, cantus, symphonias' iactant.

2. Cicero, *Pro Gellio*, frag. ix., Baiter & Kayser:

Fit clamor, fit convitium mulierum, fit symphoniae cantus.

3. Cicero, *Verr.*, act. sec., iii. 105:

Apronium . . . cotidie solitum esse, non modo in publico, sed etiam de publico, convivari,—cum in eius conviviis symphonia caneret, maximisque poculis ministraretur, etc.

4. Cicero, *Verr.*, act. sec., v. 31:

Non offendebantur homines . . . locum illum litoris percrepare totum muliebribus vocibus, cantuque symphoniae.

5. Cicero, *Verr.*, act. sec., v. 92:

Curritur ad praetorium, quo istum ex illo praeclaro convivio reduxerant paulo ante mulieres, cum cantu atque symphonia.

6. Cicero, *Ad Fam.*, xvi. 9:

Symphoniam Lysonis vellem vitasses, ne in quartam hebdomada incideres.

7. Horace, *A. P.*, 374–376:

Ut gratas inter mensas symphonia discors,

Et crassum unguentum et Sardo cum melle papaver
Offendunt, poterat duci quia cena sine istis.¹⁵

8. Celsus, *De Med.* iii. 18:

Discutiendae tristes cogitationes, ad quod symphoniae et
cymbala strepitusque proficiunt.

9. Seneca, *Dial.*, book 1, iii. 10:

Feliciorem ergo tu Maecenatem putas, cui amoribus anxio et
morosae uxoris cotidiana repudia deflenti, somnus per symphoni-
arum cantum ex longinquo lene resonantium quaeritur?

10. Seneca, *Ep.*, book 1, xii. 8:

Pacuvius, qui Syriam usu suam fecit, cum vino et illis funebri-
bus epulis sibi parentaverat, sic in cubiculum ferebatur a cena, ut
inter plausus exoletorum hoc ad symphoniam caneretur, *βεβίωται,
βεβίωται.*

11. Seneca, *Ep.*, book 5, li. 4:

Verdere ebrios per litora errantes, et comissiones navigantium,
et symphoniarum cantibus strepentes lacus, et alia quae velut
soluta legibus luxuria non tantum peccat, sed publicat quid necesse
est.

12. Seneca, *Ep.*, book 5, li. 12:

Quidni mallet quisquis vir est, somnum suum classico quam
symphonia rumpi?

13. Seneca, *Ep.*, book 20, cxxiii. 9:

Quem ad modum qui audierunt symphoniam ferunt secum in
auribus modulationem illam ac dulcedinem cantuum, quae cogita-
tiones impedit, nec ad seria patitur intendi; sic adulatorum et
prava laudantium sermo diutius haeret quam auditur.

¹⁵ Scholia explain, "Symphonia discors, — id est mali cantores, sym-
phonia est concentus cantorum." Pliny, *N. H.*, x. 29, certainly uses *sym-
phonia* as referring to vocal music (of birds). The interpretation of the
scholiast, however, makes no sense here. Horace insinuates that some may
enjoy *symphonia discors*, etc., at a banquet. From a number of references,
it appears that certain persons of notably bad taste did take pleasure in
the music of the instrument called *symphonia*, which had a noisy quality
of tone, — yet it is absurd to suppose that they would endure listening to
vocalists who sang out of tune. Accordingly, *symphonia* must here be taken
as the name of an instrument whose music is not *concors* as the name
would suggest, i.e. *συμφωνία*, but rather from Horace's point of view to be
characterized as *discors*. This explanation brings out fully the force of
Horace's argument, in the following phrase, *poterat duci quia cena sine istis*.

14. Petronius, *Cena Trim.*, 32 :

In his eramus lautitiis, cum ipse Trimalchio ad symphoniam allatus est.

15. Petronius, *Cena Trim.*, 33 :

Accessere continuo duo servi, et symphonia strepente, scrutari paleam coeperunt.

16. Petronius, *Cena Trim.*, 34 :

Cum subito signum symphonia datur, et gustatoria pariter a choro cantante rapiuntur.

17. Suetonius, *Caligula*, 37 :

Discumbens de die, inter choros et symphonias litora Campaniae peragraret.

18. Pliny, *N. H.*, viii. 64 :

Docilitas tanta est, ut universus Sybaritani exercitus equitatus ad symphoniae cantum saltatione quadam moveri solitus inveniat.¹⁶

19. Pliny, *N. H.*, ix. 8 :

Delphinus non homini tantum amicum animal, verum et musicae arti mulcetur, symphoniae cantu, et praecipue hydraulici sono.

20. Scholia Pseudacron. Horace, *Sat.*, book 1, ii. 1 :

Ambubaiae dicuntur mulieres tibicines lingua Syrorum. Etenim eorum lingua tibia sive symphonia ambubaia dicitur.¹⁷

21. Scholia Bern., Vergil, *Georg.*, ii. 1903 :

Apud Tuscos a Tyrrheno symphoniae et tibiae usus inventus est et sacris primum additus est.

22. Servius, *Comm.*, Vergil, *Aen.*, i. 67 :

Aque hac lascivia excogitaverunt (sc. Tyrrhenus et Lydus) et tibiae modulationem et concentum symphoniae tubarumque.

¹⁶ Athenaeus, xii. p. 521, citing Aristotle, writes: ἐς τηλικούτων δ' ἦσαν τρυφῆς ἐληλακότες ὡς καὶ παρὰ τὰς εὐωχίας τοὺς ἵππους ἐθίσαι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀρχεισθαι. τότε οὖν εἰδότες οἱ Κροτωνιάται ὅτε αὐτοῖς ἐπολέμουν ὡς καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ἱστορεῖ διὰ τῆς πολιτείας αὐτῶν, ἐνέδοσαν τοῖς ἵπποις τὸ ὀρχηστικὸν μέλος. συμπαρήσαν γὰρ αὐτοῖς καὶ αὐληταὶ ἐν στρατιωτικῇ σκεύῃ, καὶ ἅμα αὐλούντων ἀκούοντες οἱ ἵπποι, οὐ μόνον ἐξωρχήσαντο ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀναβάτας ἔχοντες ἠτύτομβλησαν πρὸς τοὺς Κροτωνιάτας.

¹⁷ Ambubaia, — the Aramaic *ābūbā*, a kind of pipe or flute. The importance of the citation is that it shows the *symphonia* to have been, like the tibia and *ābūbā*, a wind instrument.

23. Julius Capitolinus, *Verus*, vi. 9:

Ille . . . apud Corinthum et Athenas inter symphonias et cantica navigabat.

24. Prudentius, *Contra Symmachum*, ii. 57:

Fluctibus Actiacis signum symphonia belli
Aegyptis dederat clangebat buccina contra.

25. Apuleius, *Met.*, xi. 8:

Symphoniae dehinc suaves, fistulae tibiaeque modulis dulcissimis personabant.

26. Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita S. Martini*, iv. 48:

Implicito sonitu rauca novitate cicuta
Donec plena suo cecinit symphonia flatu.¹⁸

A word may here be added, concerning the rendering by the Latin translators of the two passages of Scripture, where it has been seen that the Greek text mentions a musical instrument called *συμφωνία*, to wit, Daniel 3 5 (in which *συμφωνία* of the LXX stands for the *sūmpōnyāh* of the original), and Luke 15 25. These passages are thus rendered in the Latin Vulgate of St. Jerome:

In hora qua audieritis sonitum tubae et fistulae et cytharae, sambucae et psalterii, et symphoniae, etc. (Dan. 3 5.)

Erat autem filius eius senior in agro, et cum veniret et appropinquaret domui, audivit symphoniam et chorum. (Lk. 15 25.)

Concerning the interpretation of *symphonia* in Dan. 3 5, no question has ever been raised tending to throw doubt on the assumption that it is the name of a musical instrument.¹⁹ Moreover, a comparison of the words used in the LXX and Vulgate as equivalents for two of the names of musical

¹⁸ These lines are taken from an account of the healing of a dumb child by St. Martin, the simile of a wind instrument with a reservoir of air, the first tones of which are harsh and flat, because the air pressure is low, being applied to the mute's first efforts to speak. That is, "The reed, in harsh tones at first, uttered confused sounds, until, when filled with wind, the *symphony* (bagpipe) chanted."

¹⁹ Compare the rendering of the Douay version of 1609-1610. "That in the hour that you shall hear the sound of the trumpet and of the flute, and of the harp and of the sackbut, and of the *symphony*, and of all kinds of music," etc.

instruments mentioned in this passage, namely, *mashrokitha* and *sūmpōnyāh*, will be helpful, as showing at least, most emphatically, what the *sūmpōnyāh* (συμφωνία, *symphonia*) was not. That is:

<i>mashrokitha</i>	σύριγξ	fistula ²⁰
<i>sūmpōnyāh</i>	συμφωνία	<i>symphonia</i>

proving that *sūmpōnyāh* (συμφωνία, *symphonia*) cannot be identified with the Pan's-pipe, referred to under its old established names, to wit, Greek, σύριγξ, Latin, *fistula*,²¹ in the LXX and Vulgate, respectively.

As to the interpretation of Luke 15 25, I have shown in my previous article that *symphonia* (συμφωνία) is the name of a musical instrument. It is, moreover, certainly to be understood as a wind instrument, since the word is rendered in the Ethiopic version, as Professor Moore points out,²² by 'enzērā, the word elsewhere used to translate names of wind instruments, e.g. αὐλός, ὄργανον. Merely to show, however, that St. Jerome, who adopts the view that vocal music is meant by *symphonia*, knew of the existence of a musical instrument *symphonia*, his comment on this passage may be put in evidence here:

Male autem quidam de Latinis symphoniam putant esse genus organi, cum concors in Dei laudibus concentus hoc vocabulo significetur.²³

At this point it is well to summarize the known facts concerning the musical instrument variously called *sūmpōnyāh*, συμφωνία, and *symphonia*, as revealed in the citations from Greek and Latin documents which up to this point have been put in evidence.

²⁰ σύριγξ is not improbably a loan-word from the Semitic, showing the same stem *shrak* that appears in *mashrokitha*. For the epenthetic nasal, compare τύμπαρον, σαμβύκη, also *ambubaia*, well attested examples of loan-words of Oriental origin.

²¹ Compare Vergil, *Ecl.* ii. 37:

Est mihi disparibus septem compacta cicutis,

Fistula, Damoetas dono mihi quam dedit olim.

²² *l.c.*, p. 166, n. 1.

²³ St. Jerome, *Ep.* xxi. 29.

1. It is a musical instrument.

- a) It is mentioned in connection with, or in comparison to, other musical instruments already well known.
Greek: 1, 3. Latin: 8, 12, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25.
- b) Translations into other languages use as an equivalent word the name of a musical instrument.
Lk. 15 25: Ethiopic, 'enzērā; Syriac, sēpūnyō (Sinaitic palimpsest).
- c) The phrase *symphoniae cantus*, *canere symphonia*, etc., is analogous to *tibiae cantus*, *canere tibia*, etc., well-attested forms of expression for instrumental music, or the act of producing it.
Latin: 2, 3, 4, 9, 11, 13, 18, 19, 22, 26.

2. It is a wind instrument.

- a) It is used as a free Latin equivalent of,
 1. Greek, αὔλος. Latin: 18.
 2. Aramaic, 'ābūbā. Latin: 20.
- b) It is mentioned in close connection with the *tibia*.²⁴
Latin: 20, 21, 22, 25.
- c) Described as provided with a reservoir of air.
Latin: 26. Venantius Fortunatus.
- 3. It has a loud and penetrating quality of tone.**²⁵
- a) It makes a noise.
Latin: 15.
- b) It adds to the din of other noises.
Latin: 2, 4, 11.
- c) It makes a place ring with its music.
Latin: 4, 11.
- d) It sounds gently, when far away.
Latin: 9.
- e) It wakes a man, suddenly and rudely as the war trumpet.
Latin: 12.

²⁴ The following glosses, from Mss. of the tenth century or later, may be cited in this connection:

CGL, iv. 184, 19.	tibia, symphonia.
CGL, iv. 292, 3.	tybia, symphonia.
CGL, iv. 574, 25.	tibia, sinphonia.

²⁵ Whereas in Latin, 13, 25, the music of the symphonia is described as *sweet-toned*, it is to be noted that the statement is made from the viewpoint not of the writer, but of the hearer.

f) It is used in military music.

Latin: 18, 24.

4. It is used in polyphonic music.

a) With pipes.

Greek: 1. Latin: 21, 22, 25.

b) With cymbals.

Latin: 8.

c) With all kinds of music.

Greek: 3.

5. It has not a fixed pitch, but a range of tones.

a) Used as an accompaniment to the voice.

Latin: 10.

b) Used to play dance tunes.

Greek: 2, 4.

6. It is held in little esteem.²⁶

a) Cultured persons do not fancy it.

Greek: 1. Latin: 7.

b) Persons of bad taste affect a liking for it.

Antiochus,

Greek: 1, 2.

Apronius,

Latin: 3.

Verres,

Latin: 4, 5.

Caligula,

Latin: 17.

c) Played at banquets of a vulgar or sensational sort.

Greek: 1, 2, 4. Latin: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17, 23.

I now turn to the task of tracing the history, through the modern languages to the present time, of *symphonia* and its derivatives, in this concrete, limited, and specialized sense, as the name of a musical instrument. Covering, as it does, a period of thirteen centuries, since the time of Venantius Fortunatus (A.D. 600), this history forms one of the most extraordinary chapters in the whole course of philology.²⁷

²⁶ It may be noted that the instrument from which the bagpiper, called *δοκαύλης*, took his name was held in little esteem.

²⁷ The following detailed stemma of *συμφωνία* and its derivatives will be instructive.

Greek, *συμφωνία*,

1. Aram. *sūmpōnyāh*,

2. Syr. *sēpūnyō*,

Originally Greek, the word passed first into Semitic, later into Latin, then from the Latin it was transmitted to Italian, Spanish, Provençal, Portuguese, French, Roumanian, Hungarian, and English. In Provençal are parallel forms, one derived from the parent Latin, the other a more recent loan-word from the Italian. Finally, the word, as current in Modern Greek, has returned, scarcely recognizable as a derivative of *συμφωνία*, to the land and tongue whence it came.

And scarcely less striking is the persistence for twenty centuries of the etymological idea involved in the structure of the word out of the elements *σύν* (denoting combination) and *φωνή* (sound). The following comprehensive definition of the word will illustrate my meaning:

Συμφωνία (*sūmpōnyāh*, *symphonia*), the name of a musical instrument endowed with some attribute or quality or peculiarity, to which *συμφωνία* would apply; that is, when used in the special technical sense, conveying the abstract idea of the fusion and blending into one sound, of two sounds differing in pitch.

1. A wind instrument.

BAGPIPE

1598	Italian	sampogna	bagpipe	(John Florio)
1599	Spanish	çampoña	bagpipe	(John Minshew)
1785	Provençal,	fanfogno	cornemuse	(Cl. Fr. Achard)
1796	Modern Greek	τζαμπούρνα	Sackpfeife	(Karl Weigel)
1847	Hungarian	cimpolya	Dudelsack	(Moritz Bloch)
1870	Roumanian	cimpoiu	cornemuse	(Ion Costinescu)

3. Lat. *symphonia*.a) Ital. *zampogna*

I. Mod. Gk. τζαμπούρνα

II. Proven. *jambougno*b) Span. *zampoña*c) Prov. *sansogno*d) Port. *sanfona*e) O. Fr. *cifonie*f) Roum. *cimpóiu*g) Hung. *cimpolya*h) Engl. *symphonie* (archaic)

Here one sees an instance of word-migration almost without a parallel.

2. A stringed instrument.²⁸HURDY-GURDY.²⁹3. An instrument of percussion.³⁰

ST. ISIDOR'S DRUM.

Expansion of meaning in each of these three senses being possible,³¹ the result has finally been that derivatives of *symphonia* have acquired meanings in which the original etymological sense of the word is no longer felt.³²

As the testimony of the ancient writers in their references to *συμφωνία* and *symphonia* goes to show that a wind instrument is meant, I am concerned in these pages only with those derivatives of *symphonia* in which the significance is that of a wind instrument; in the original, restricted and specialized sense, or in the later, extended and generalized sense. The items under consideration may for convenience be put under five groups, (1) Italian, including loan-words in Provençal and Modern Greek, (2) Spanish, (3) Provençal, (4) Roumanian, (5) Hungarian.

I. ITALIAN, *zampogna* (*zampugna*, *sampogna*, *sampugna*).³³

In the sixteenth century, as Professor Moore points out,³⁴

²⁸ German, *Drehleier*, *Bauernleier*, French, *vielle*. "It consists of a flat oblong sounding board, upon which are stretched four gut strings, two of which are tuned a fifth apart, to form a drone bass and placed where they cannot be acted upon by the ten or twelve keys, fixed upon one side of the belly of the instrument. The other two are tuned in unison, and are so arranged that they may be shortened by the pressure of the keys. . . . The strings are set in vibration by the friction of a wooden wheel, charged with rosin, and turned by means of a handle at one end." (Stainer and Barrett's *Dictionary of Musical Terms*, s.v. "Hurdy-gurdy.")

²⁹ A name now incorrectly applied to the barrel and piano organ.

³⁰ St. Isidorus, *Liber Etymologiarum*, iii. col. 167, Migne.

³¹ See Michel Bréal, *Semantics*, p. 115.

³² Compare the following Italian dialectic variations:

- | | | |
|------------------------------------|--------|----------------------|
| 1. <i>zampogna</i> , "Pan's Pipe." | Padua. | E. Forcellini, 1768. |
| 2. <i>sanfonia</i> , "Jew's harp." | Genoa. | G. Casaccia, 1876. |
| 3. <i>sampogn</i> , "cow-bell." | Como. | P. Monti, 1845. |

³³ Professor Moore writes, "'Bagpipe' is therefore not the common and accepted meaning of *zampogna*, but is unusual and provincial. It is also obviously secondary." ("*Συμφωνία* not a Bagpipe," p. 175.)

³⁴ "*Συμφωνία* not a Bagpipe," p. 168. R. Elijah evidently means no more than that "*Leier*," i.e., *hurdy-gurdy*, and "*zampogna*" are the accepted interpretations of German and Italian scholars, respectively. There is not a

Elijah the Levite (1468-1549) mentions as an equivalent of *sūmpōnyāh* in Dan. 3 5 the Italian word *zampogna*.³⁵

John Florio, in 1598, gives the following definition of the word:³⁶

SAMPOGNA, a bagpipe, an oten pipe. Also a bell hanged about sheep or goates, a lowe-bell.

ZAMPOGNA, an oaten pipe, a shepherd's pipe, a bagge-pipe. Also a bell that is hung about a goate or bell-weather's necke.

Athanasius Kircher, the learned Jesuit of Fulda, writing about 1650, in commenting on the *sūmpōnyāh* of Dan. 3 5, further testifies concerning the Italian *zampogna* or bagpipe:³⁷

Sampunia igitur accipitur pro fistula non simplici, sed qualem Schilte haggibborim describit, — erat enim instrumentum δίαυλον, duarum fistularum, intra quas medius ponebatur uter rotundus, ex pelle Arietis aut Verveis, in quo duae dictae fistulae inferebantur, una sursum, deorsum altera vergente, — quando vero superior canalis insufflabatur, uter spiritu repletus compressusque, fistulae inferiori aerem subministrabat, — qui pro clausura vel apertura foraminum in ea dispositorum, obstetricantibus digitis, varios parturiebat sonos, cuius figuram alibi ponimus. Unde patet id fuisse prorsus simile nostro utriculo, quo Pastores et Rustici passim utuntur, — et mirum sane est in Italia, in hunc usque diem, hoc nomine *Zampugna pastorale* appellari.³⁸

Apart from the fact that he traces the word back to its Greek original, namely *συμφωνία*,³⁹ Kircher, deriving his

vestige of evidence that the hurdy-gurdy, or *lyra tedesca* as Italians know it, ever in Italy bore the name *zampogna*.

³⁵ In the Italian translation of the Bible by G. Diodati, published at Genoa in 1641, Dan. iii. 5 is rendered, "Che nell' ora che voi udirete il suono del corno, del flauto, della cetera, dell' arpicordo, del salterio, della *sampogna*."

³⁶ A Worlde of Words, or a most copious and exact Dictionarie in Italian and English, collected by Iohn Florio. London, 1598.

³⁷ Athanasii Kircheri, Fuldensis Soc. Iesu. Presbyteri, *Musurgia Universalis*. Rome, 1650. See p. 53.

³⁸ It may be noted that he does not identify the form of bagpipe described by R. Abraham (see Ugolini, *Thesaurus*, xxxii. col. xl) with the Italian bagpipe, but he notes the similarity of the two instruments, as constructed on the same principle.

³⁹ Kircher, *l.c.*, p. 53. "*Sampunia* a graeco, ni fallor, *συμφωνία* corruptum vocabulum."

explanation from R. Saadia, by way of the Shilte hag-gibborim, has no claim to independent authority as an interpreter of *sūmpōnyāh* in Dan. 3 5. The importance of the above citation in connection with the matter at issue lies in the fact that he recognizes *utriculus*,⁴⁰ that is *bagpipe*, as the common and accepted meaning of *zampugna*. And the *zampugna* with which he was familiar, as the favorite musical instrument of shepherd and rustic, very likely differed little in form and structure from the eighteenth century instrument figured and described by Hipkins:

The Calabrian bagpipe or zampogna is a rudely carved instrument of the eighteenth century. It has four drones attached to one stock, hanging downwards from the end of the bag, —two of them are furnished with finger holes. The reeds are double like those of the oboe and bassoon. The bag is large, it is inflated by the mouth, and pressed by the left arm against the chest of the performer. The zampogna is chiefly used as an accompaniment to a small reed melody-pipe called by the same name, and played by another performer.⁴¹

Still called zampogna, the bagpipe is even at the present day, though perhaps not to be characterized as *solamen unicum*, a favorite instrument among the shepherds and rustics of central and southern Italy. It is an important piece in the village bands of the Abruzzi, furnishing, as it were, a sort of primitive pedal-bass to the rustic orchestra, variously consisting of oboes and flutes (*ciaramelle*), cymbals, triangles, drums.⁴² During the Christmas holidays, the traveller in Naples, Messina, and other cities of southern

⁴⁰ Kircher, *l.c.*, p. 505: "*Cornamusam* multi pro *utriculo* sumunt. Quid sit *utriculus* passim notum est, Pastorum scilicet Rusticorumque *solamen unicum*, — in hoc instrumento uter inflatus, brachioque compressus *fistulas* eidem annexas animat, quae animatae pro varia clausura vel apertura orificiorum variam reddunt harmoniam." Concerning *cornamusa*, see excursus, below, p. 123.

⁴¹ A. J. Hipkins, *Musical Instruments, Historic, Rare, and Antique*. Edinburgh, 1888. See plate iv.

⁴² For this information I am indebted to Mr. A. T. Sinclair, author of "Gypsy and Oriental Music" and other articles.

Italy⁴³ and until very recently also in Rome⁴⁴ may see the peasants who have come from their homes in the mountains to make the annual pilgrimage to the shrines of the Madonna, passing through the streets, and playing on their pipes before the sacred images. A recent writer in *The Musician* gives the following interesting description of the strolling pipers and their instruments:⁴⁵

Usually, the pipers go in groups of three, two play the pipes, a kind of clarinet, the third, the *zampogna*, a curious instrument, made of the skin of a sheep, fastened to two pipes. The player, by means of a small tube, breathes into the skin, which swells and dilates, while at the same time his agile hand opens and closes the holes of the instrument. A melancholy sound issues in contrast to the acute strident sound of the *piffero*.⁴⁶

It is therefore well in accordance with the facts of the case that musicians have adopted 'bagpipe' as the common and accepted meaning of *zampogna* and defined the word accordingly. In this connection, the definition of *zampogna* given in Stainer and Barrett's *Dictionary of Musical Terms* may be put in evidence:

⁴³ "The approach of Christmas is indicated by the arrival of the *zampognari*, the bagpipers of the Abruzzi, who annually visit Naples and Rome at this season." (*A Handbook for Travellers in Southern Italy and Sicily*. John Murray, London, 1903.)

⁴⁴ W. W. Story, *Roba di Roma*, 1863, in the chapter relating to street musicians, gives a full account of a meeting with Neapolitan pipers; a description of their instruments, the *piffero* and the *zampogna*, — he also prints the words and music of one of the best known of their songs, a hymn in praise of the Virgin.

⁴⁵ Raffaele Simboli, "The Christmas Pipers of Rome," translated by Elise Lathrop, *The Musician*, December, 1907. The accompanying illustrations give an excellent idea of the pipers and their instruments.

⁴⁶ Specimens of the instruments played upon by the Italian pipers may be seen among the curiosities of the Crosby-Brown Collection of Musical Instruments of All Nations, in the Metropolitan Museum, at New York. The following items may be noted here:

1629 BAGPIPE. *Zampogna*.

1568

1521

2510 PIFFARO PASTORALE. A reed pipe generally played with the *zampogna*.

— See *Catalogue of the Crosby-Brown Collection*, p. 154.

ZAMPOGNA, It. A bagpipe in use among Italian peasants. The name is supposed to be a corruption of *symphonia*. A rough-toned reed instrument without a bag is also called *zampogna* or *zampugna*.⁴⁷

It has been noted that the Italian word *zampogna* passed as a loan-word into other languages; namely, into Provençal and Modern Greek. A few words may be devoted to the study of these migrations.

1. Provençal.

In this language *zampogna* appears as a loan-word, beside a host of native forms, namely, *sansogno*, *fanforgno*, *founfòni*, etc., all of which are to be traced back, allowing for dialectical variations, to the Latin *symphonia*. It appears as (a) *zambougno*, (b) *jambougno*, according to the following lexicographical authorities:⁴⁸

1785. C. F. Achard:⁴⁹

JAMBOUGNO, terme de montagnards, *cornemuse*. On le dit aussi de la *vielle*.

1879. F. Mistral:⁵⁰

ZAMBOUGNO (sambougno, sampougno, jambougno, jambouno), *cornemuse*, *vielle*, *flûte champêtre*, *guimbarde*.

2. Modern Greek.

Scarcely recognizable now after their long wanderings, as derivatives from *συμφωνία*, the curiously altered forms enumerated below have, it is likely, been current in Greek for a considerable time. The following statements of lexicographers may be put in evidence:

1796. Karl Weigel:⁵¹

τζαμπούρνα (άσκοτζαμπούρνα) die Sackpfeife, der Dudelsack, la piva, la cornamusa.⁵²

⁴⁷ Stainer and Barrett's *Dictionary of Musical Terms*, revised by Sir John Stainer, London, 1898. See *s.v.* *zampogna*.

⁴⁸ In these and following citations, all evidence other than such as tends to show that a *wind instrument* is meant is to be discounted, as having no bearing whatever on the case.

⁴⁹ *Dictionnaire de la Provence*. Marseille, 1785.

⁵⁰ *Lou Tresor dou Felibrige, ou Dictionnaire Provençal-Français*. Aix, 1879.

⁵¹ *Λεξικόν ἀπλορωμαϊκόν, γερμανικόν καὶ ἰταλικόν*, Leipzig, 1796.

⁵² Of the curious by-form, *άσκοτζαμπούρνα*, I shall have a word to say in a later paragraph.

τζαμπούρνια, Der Laut, Ton der Sackpfeife (wenn sie geblasen wird), il suono della cornamusa.

1889. N. Κοντόπουλος:⁵³

II. SPANISH, zampoña.

The bagpipe was formerly much more common in Spain than at the present day;⁵⁴ it is now practically restricted to the northwestern provinces, where it is still played by roving *gaiteros*,⁵⁵ mostly gypsies, the bagpipe being there, as everywhere, the favorite, and indeed, perhaps most characteristic instrument of these people. *Zampoña*, however, the representative in the Spanish tongue, of the Latin *symphonia*, is by no means yet extinct. As to the meaning of the word, namely, 'bagpipe,' during the past few centuries, I introduce here the following dictionary testimony:

1599. John Minsheu:⁵⁶

ΖΑΜΠΟΝΑ, a *bagpipe*, an *oaten pipe*. Also a bell hanged about sheepe or gotes, a *lowbell*.⁵⁷

1739. Dictionary of the Spanish Academy:⁵⁸

⁵³ Λεξικόν ἑλληνοαγγλικόν. Ἐν Ἀθῆναις, 1889.

τσαμπούνα	a pipe, bagpipe.
τσαμπούρνα	a pair of bagpipes.

⁵⁴ A thirteenth-century manuscript of the Cantigas de Santa Maria, usually known as *Loores et Milagros de Nuestra Señora*, contains a number of pictures of bagpipes. Of these, one shows the instrument as having only one pipe, the chanter, another represents it with the chanter and drone, while a third depicts a very interesting view of a bagpipe with two chanters and four long drone pipes. See Juan F. Riaño, *Notes on Early Spanish Music*, London, 1887, figure 51.

⁵⁵ That is, 'bagpipers,' from *gaita*, now a common Spanish word for bagpipe. According to Minsheu (see note 56) *gaita* or *gayta* is an Arabic word, which in his time, 1599, was not yet fully established as a loan-word in Spanish.

⁵⁶ A Dictionarie in Spanish and English. . . Ric. Percivall, Gent. Now enlarged and amplified by many thousand words, as by this marke * to each of them prefixed may appeere . . . by Iohn Minsheu. London, 1599 (*zampoña* is one of the words added by Minsheu.)

⁵⁷ This definition is given also in Minsheu's Spanish Dictionary of 1623.

⁵⁸ Edition of 1739. The same definition is given in all subsequent editions of the Dictionary of the Spanish Academy, including the latest, pub-

ZAMPOÑA, instrumento rustico pastoril, à modo de flauta ò compuesto de muchas flautas.⁶⁰

1901. F. Corona Bustamente :⁶⁰

- ZAMPOÑA. (1) *Musette*, espèce de cornemuse, instrument de musique champêtre.
 (2) *Chalumeau*, instrument de musique pastorale, qui n'était dans l'origine qu'un roseau, percé de plusieurs trous.
 (3) *Cornemuse*, instrument de musique champêtre, formé d'une espèce de sac cuir, plein d'air, auquel sont adaptés deux tuyaux.

If 'bagpipe' is not, and never was, as Professor Moore argues, the meaning of *zampoña*,⁶¹ let him then show how the definitions of the word recorded here, arose, and why, if incorrect, they should have become established and remained so long unchallenged.

III. PROVENÇAL, sansogno, etc.⁶²

The bagpipe has long been a favorite rustic and pastoral

lished in 1899. Note, —

1. In 1798 it is copied word for word by Connelly and Higgins, and translated into English:

ZAMPOÑA. Instrumento rústico pastoril, á modo de flauta, ó compuesto de muchas flautas. ZAMPOGNA. A shepherd's flute, or a *bagpipe* made up of divers flutes.

(Frs. Thomas Connelly and Thomas Higgins, *A New Dictionary of the Spanish and English Languages*, Madrid, 1798.)

2. More recently it is interpreted:

ZAMPOÑA. Los poetas dan este nombre non sólo á la cornamusa italiana, sino á la flauta pastoril ó caramillo.

(Luisa Lacál, *Diccionario de la Musica*, Madrid, 1899.)

⁶⁰ It may not be superfluous to add the following definitions:

ZAMPOÑA. A rustic instrument, a kind of bagpipe.

ZAMPOÑAZA. A large bagpipe.

ZAMPOÑEAR. To play the bagpipe, met., to be prolix and frivolous in conversation, to prose.

(J. M. Lopez and E. R. Bensley, 1900.)

Compare also the Spanish-English Dictionaries of Velasquez, 1895, and Bustamente, 1903.

⁶⁰ *Diccionario Español-Frances*, Paris, 1901.

⁶¹ "Συμφωνία not a Bagpipe," pp. 166, 174, 175.

⁶² Compare the following:

sansogno, voyez crabo.

crabo, chevre, femelle du bouc,

crabo, *boudego*, cornemuse, instrument à anche et à vent.

instrument in France, in company with the hurdy-gurdy, — at one time, indeed, the *blasé* courtiers of French kings, affecting a taste for the simple music that old Damoetas loved to hear, brought both instruments into a short-lived popularity among the nobility. To-day, the *biniau*, or *bignou*,⁶³ as it is called, may still be heard in Brittany, while in La Provence, the bagpipe, bearing many local names,⁶⁴ continues to enjoy its old-time popularity.⁶⁵

And the Latin word, *symphonia*, the name of a musical instrument of the old Roman days, has been handed down, as the name of the bagpipe,⁶⁶ in a host of forms, varying partly through local changes in Provençal phonology, partly through folk-etymology, namely: *sanfogna*, *sanfònio*, *san-sogno*, *sanforgia*, *chamforgia*, *fanfogna*, *fanfònio*, *fanfòni*, *founfòni*, *fanfourni*, *fanfournié*, *fanforgia*.

The following definitions of these words are given by the standard authorities on the lexicography of Provençal:

1785. C. F. Achard:⁶⁷

CORNEMUSE, instrument à anches et à vent, qui ne sert qu'aux paysans montagnards, *carlamuso*, *fanfogno*.

1879. F. Mistral:⁶⁸

FOUNFÒNI, FANFÒNI, FANFÒNIO (rh), SANFÒNIO, SANSOGNO (l), FANFORGNO (nic), SANFORGNO (for), CHANFORGNO (aur), FANFÓURGNI (d), FANFOUGNO (vir), FANFOUNIÉ (m), CORNEMUSE, v. CARLAMUSO, mandoline, vielle, v. VIOLO.

IV. ROUMANIAN, cimpoi.

The Latin *symphonia* has survived as the name of the (M. J. P. Conzinié, *Dictionnaire de la langue Romano-Castraise, et des Contrées limitrophes*, 1850.)

⁶³ A. Lavignac, *Music and Musicians*, p. 104.

⁶⁴ Mistral mentions besides *sansogno*, etc., also *carlamuso*, *boudego*, *cabreto*, *museto*, and *cat-enfla*. The last reminds one of *φυσήτε τὸν πρωκτὸν κυβός*.

⁶⁵ As in Italy, so in La Provence, the bagpipe figures in the festivities of Christmas, together with the *galoubet*, the tambourine, and the cymbals. (See T. H. Janvier, *The Christmas Calends of Provence*, p. 122.)

⁶⁶ Also as the name of stringed instruments, mandolin and hurdy-gurdy, but this evidence is to be discounted, as having no bearing on the case. Similarly of Old French *cifonie*.

⁶⁷ *I.c.* compare note 49.

⁶⁸ *I.c.* compare note 50.

bagpipe in the language of these people, in the forms *cimpoi*, *cimfoiu*, *simfonu*,⁶⁹ the meaning of which is accurately described by the lexicographers, whose testimony I put in evidence.

1870. Ion Costinescu:⁷⁰

CIMPOIU. Instrumentul musical cãmpestru, compus din dũoe țevi și uã pielle de țap, de caprã, pe quare o înfã suffandũ in țeva de sussũ.⁷¹

1903. H. Tiktin:⁷²

CIMPOIU. Dudelsack. Besteht aus Schlauch (burduf) Pfeife (caravã) Stimmer (hang) und Anblaserohr (suflatore).

As late as the middle of the last century the bagpipe was still in use among the peasants of Roumania, especially in connection with the feast of Pentecost.⁷³

V. HUNGARIAN, *csimpolya*.

The provenience, in this non-Indogermanic language, of words of Indogermanic origin is an interesting problem to study. The fact remains that a derivative of the Latin word *symphonia*, the name of a musical instrument in the form *csimpolya*, exists in Hungarian as the name of the bagpipe.⁷⁴ This is the testimony of the lexicographers:

1847. Moritz Bloch:⁷⁵

CSIMPOLYA. Der Dudelsack.

1868. Alexius Farkas:⁷⁶

CSIMPOLYA. Schlauch, Dudelsack.

At this point, in connection with Professor Moore's argu-

⁶⁹ Theodor Stamati, *Wörterbuch der deutschen und romanischen Sprache*.

"Dudelsack," cimpoi (cimfoi, simfonũ).

⁷⁰ *Vocabularũ Românũ-Francesũ*, Bucurescũ, 1870.

⁷¹ This definition may be translated for the benefit of those unacquainted with the Roumanian language: "A rustic musical instrument, formed of two pipes and a goat-skin, inflated by blowing into the upper pipe."

⁷² *Dicționar Român-German*, Bucurescũ, 1903. Contains the latest and most accurate information on the subject.

⁷³ Vallixandri, *Ballades et Chants Populaires de la Roumaine*, 1855, p. xxvi. See also Tereza Stratilesco, *From Carpathian to Pindus*, p. 345.

⁷⁴ The usual word now is *dũdã*.

⁷⁵ *Neues vollständiges Taschenwörterbuch*, Pest, 1847.

⁷⁶ *Német-magyar és Magyar-német Zsebszókönyv*, Pest, 1868.

ments to show that *συμφωνία* is not a bagpipe, may be presented certain facts which have some bearing on the case.⁷⁷

EXCURSUS. *Semasiology of certain derivatives of Συμφωνία and predisposing causes.*

Language, being a communal product, not a conscious creation of an individual mind, nor of a limited number of individuals, is in a perpetual process of change, the more marked in proportion as the life of the folk is the more intense and its thought more active. In two epigrammatic phrases Professor Whitney has summed up the whole matter:

These two, in fact, the restriction and specialization of general terms, and the extension and generalization of special terms, are the two grand divisions under which may be arranged all the infinite varieties of the process of names-giving.⁷⁸

The antecedent causes which underlie these processes of change in meaning are further defined by Bréal:⁷⁹

Restriction depends . . . on the conditions of language, expansion . . . results from the events of history.

Another important modifying cause is the usurpation of the function of a given noun as the name of a certain thing by another noun, in meaning originally quite different, or, it may be, by a word of recent coining, or a loan word borrowed from another language.⁸⁰ In the case of the derivatives of *συμφωνία* these causes have all acted to bring about a gradual change in meaning.

The etymology of the word in question shows that when it was first used as the name of a musical instrument it must have been applied to an instrument capable of producing two sounds at once, to which the word *συμφωνία* would

⁷⁷ G. F. Moore, *l.c.* p. 175. "'Bagpipe' is, therefore, not the common and accepted meaning of *zampoña*, *zampogna*, but is unusual and provincial. It is also obviously secondary."

⁷⁸ W. D. Whitney, *Language and the Study of Language*, p. 106.

⁷⁹ M. Bréal, *Semantics*, p. 115.

⁸⁰ See Hermann Paul, *Principles of the History of Language*, translated by H. A. Strong, p. 285.

properly apply, when used in the special technical abstract sense, that is, denoting the fusion and blending into one sound of two sounds differing in pitch. A living language cannot be shackled. At an early date the word⁸¹ might be applied to objects bearing an intimate relation to the object which in the first instance acquired as its name the abstract noun *συμφωνία*. From this, especially in languages to which *συμφωνία* came as a loan-word, it is not a long step for the word to become fixed in senses that no longer recall the original meaning. Moreover, in the modern languages in which the word is preserved in its original sense the modifying cause referred to above has been operating during the last three centuries.

A very primitive form of musical instrument, no doubt older than the bagpipe, has been characteristic of the Celtic peoples, namely the *pihgorn*,⁸² now practically extinct, though perhaps still to be found on the island of Anglesea and in a few remote districts of Wales. The instrument, by reason of its peculiar form and construction, was one that would attract attention. Its name appears in other languages, for example, French, *cornemuse*,⁸³ English, *hornpipe*.⁸⁴ Though in course of time the instrument became extinct, the name has been retained to this day, in French as the name of the bagpipe, in English as the name of a dance tune first played on a hornpipe. The word also appears in Provençal, *car-*

⁸¹ In the Mishna, it is quite evident, as Professor Moore points out ("Συμφωνία not a Bagpipe," p. 168), that *sūmpōnyāh* has come to be the name of a shawm, by extension of its original meaning. In Italy, likewise, *zampogna*, the old established name of the bagpipe, was first transferred to the chanter, or *piffero*, then later to the Pan's-pipe.

⁸² A specimen of the Welsh *pihgorn* is in the Crosby-Brown Collection in the Metropolitan Museum.

1729. PIBGORN. "The body composed of the shinbone of a deer, mounted at either end with an ox-horn. In the upper horn is concealed a small beating reed made from a straw stalk. Six finger holes in front, and one at the back." (See *Catalogue*, p. 133.)

⁸³ Latinized *cornamusa*, the form in which it appears in fourteenth-century documents.

⁸⁴ Chaucer, however, uses *cornemuse*, a loan-word from the French, now obsolete.

lamuso; Italian, *cornamusa*,⁸⁵ Spanish, *cornamusa*.⁸⁶ In these tongues⁸⁷ it has been gradually usurping the functions of derivatives of Latin *symphonia* as the name of the bagpipe, appearing first in this sense at the close of the sixteenth century in Spanish and Italian,⁸⁸ at a time when *zampoña* and *zampogna* were the common and accepted names of this instrument.

In Italian to-day *cornamusa* has become the common literary word for bagpipe,⁸⁹ yet it is unknown to the Italians who still play the bagpipe.⁹⁰ Among them the bagpipe still bears its native Italian name, *zampogna*.⁹¹

Returning now to the main question under discussion, the testimony of the modern languages, namely,⁹² Italian,

⁸⁵ F. Alunno defines: *cornamusa*, Lat. ventriculus, batillus, id est ceratolum. Della Fabrica del Mundo, Veneti, MDLXXXIII. *ceratolum* may be for *κεράτῳλον*.

⁸⁶ R. Percivall defines: *cornamusa*, a cornamuse, a hornpipe, fistula.—Percivall's Spanish Dictionary of 1591. See Murray's English Dictionary, s.v. *cornemuse*.

⁸⁷ Probably as loan-words from the French.

⁸⁸ Compare the following documents, —

Italian, 1598. John Florio, l.c.

cornamusa, a bagpipe or a hornet.

Spanish, 1599. John Minsheu, l.c.

cornamusa, a cornemuse, a horn-pipe, a bagpipe.

⁸⁹ This usage was established by 1768. But compare note 40.

SYMPHONIA. Apud Vulg. interpr. Dan. 3: . . . memoratur, videturque intellegi tibia utricularis, Italice *cornamusa*.

(E. Forcellini, *Totius Latinitatis Lexicon*, s.v. *symphonia*.)

⁹⁰ R. Andreoli, *Vocabolario Napoletano-Italiano* does not give the word.

⁹¹ Boys in the Abruzzi make Pan's-pipes much as American boys make willow whistles; they call them *fischetti*, never *zampogne*.

⁹² In English the word *symphony* was used as the name of a musical instrument in the fourteenth century:

1380. Wyclif, N.T. Luke 15:25:

"He herde a *symphonye* and a crowde."

1398. Trevisa, Barth. de P.R. vi.-xxiii. 213:

"He herde the *symphony* and cornemuse."

It was evidently different from the cornemuse or hornpipe,—that it is mentioned with it is good evidence that it was a rustic instrument. In Dan. 3:5, the Douay Version renders *sūmpōnyāh* by *symphony*.

More cannot be said than that in the fourteenth-century *symphony* was probably an English word for bagpipe. See Stainer, *Dictionary of Music*, s.v. *symphony*.

Greek,⁹³ Spanish, Provençal, Roumanian, Hungarian,⁹⁴ concerning the meaning of the several derivatives of Latin *symphonia* peculiar to each tongue respectively, is the following:

1. The word appears as an old and established name of the BAGPIPE, which persists to the present day.

2. Other names of the BAGPIPE are later, usurping the function of derivatives of the Latin *symphonia*.

With this evidence I am prepared to rest my case. The dissipation by Professor Moore⁹⁵ of the deceptive mirage of Hebrew tradition⁹⁶ has done good, in making way for better evidence as to the sense of *sūmpōnyāh* in Dan. 3 5, based not upon what others think, but upon what we know of the musical instrument called in Greek *συμφωνία*, in Latin *symphonia*, also upon the history of the same word in the modern languages, to which it came as an inheritance from the Latin; and if one ounce of facts may be had in exchange for a mine of "tradition," etc., they are indeed cheap at the price. These facts may now be summed up *in toto*:

⁹³ Weigel, in 1796, mentions an evident vulgar neologism, *ἀσκορζαμπούρα*, showing that *τζαμπούρα* was affected by the same process of change of meaning as *sūmpōnyāh* in the Mishna, and *zampogna* in Italian. Another recent name for bagpipe is *ἀσκομαρδούρα*.

⁹⁴ Professor Moore, *l.c.* p. 166, writes: "For the interpretation 'bagpipe,' Mr. Barry relies in part . . . on the meaning of the derivatives of *symphonia* in the Romance Languages. Upon closer examination, it will be found that this evidence does not sustain his contention."

In rebuttal, he confines himself to Italian and Spanish (and Portuguese, in which 'sanfona' is *hurdy-gurdy*, and 'sanfonha' *flageolet*) and makes no mention whatever of the derivatives of *symphonia* and their meaning in Greek, Provençal, Roumanian, and Hungarian.

⁹⁵ I have no cause to dispute with Professor Moore in his view that R. Saadia stumbled upon the interpretation of *sūmpōnyāh* by a process of unscientific folk-etymology to which even the best commentators have in all ages been but too fain to resort, nor in his view that R. Abraham di Porta Leone is giving not a traditional description of an ancient Hebrew instrument, but illustrating "what he thought it might have been like" by describing a form of bagpipe (probably not Italian) that he had himself seen.

⁹⁶ Professor Moore deserves everlasting gratitude for the effective manner in which he has for all time disposed of the utterly unfounded and absurd 'ūgāb : bagpipe "tradition."

1. In ancient times,

covering a period from approximately 200 B.C. to 600 A.D.,⁹⁷ there was a musical instrument, called in Greek *συμφωνία*, whence Aramaic *sūmpōnyāh*, and Latin *symphonia*, further specified as a *wind instrument*, capable of carrying a melody for singing or dancing, hence, having not a fixed tone, but a range of tones; not a Pan's-pipe,⁹⁸ not a *double-pipe*;⁹⁹ referred to at a late date in such a manner that it must have been thought of as provided with a reservoir of air, the quality of its tones being loud and noisy, waking a man out of sleep as suddenly and rudely as the war trumpet, though indeed sounding gently when far away, causing a large area of territory to ring with its music, which was heard even above the din of other noises;¹⁰⁰ played at banquets and revels for the delectation of persons of bad taste, extravagant proconsuls and *blasé* emperors, who affected a liking for its music, though it was held in little esteem by the musically cultured; used often in polyphonic music with other instruments, notably pipes and cymbals, espe-

⁹⁷ The bagpipe was known to the ancient Greeks and Romans, as I have shown in the excursus on pp. 1 ff., from the fifth century B.C., and by them held in little esteem.

⁹⁸ See above, p. 108, for discussion of the reasons why *συμφωνία* (*sūmpōnyāh*, *symphonia*) cannot possibly be identified with the Pan's-pipe.

⁹⁹ Many forms of double-pipes, *αὐλολιβία*, were known to the ancients, and held in high esteem. The *symphonia* which Cicero and Seneca associate with depravity must have been an instrument whose music was psychologically incompatible with Greek and Roman ideas, hence seeming rude, barbarous, and vulgar. Consequently, it is not possible to identify it with any of the *double-pipes* mentioned by the ancient writers.

¹⁰⁰ The noisy quality of the tones of the ancient *symphonia* at once suggests the bagpipe, the tones of which have a loud and penetrating quality such that they may be heard for a great distance, and are almost ear-splitting at close range. This feature is well known, and especially characteristic of the instrument in its older and more primitive forms. The remarks of R. Abraham in the Shiltē haggibbōrīm (Ugolini, xxxii, col. xlii) are apposite in this connection, —

“Italice hoc instrumentum (samponia) dicitur *piva sordina*, propter acumen sonitus, quasi ut aures illius qui audit eius sonitum sint quasi aures surdonum, ut praeter hunc, alterum sonitum audire non possint.” (Translated by Blasio Ugolini.)

cially when it was desired to produce more noise than music.¹⁰¹

2. In modern times,

derivatives of *symphonia* have been and are still current in Italian, Provençal, Spanish, Portuguese, Roumanian, Greek, and Hungarian¹⁰² as the names of various musical instruments, to wit, *bagpipe*, *shawm*, *Pan's-pipe*, *hurdy-gurdy*, *mandolin*, *Jew's-harp*, *drum*, *cowbell*. Among these, since the ancient instrument variously called *συμφωνία*, *sūmpōnyāh*, and *symphonia*, was a wind instrument, only names of wind instruments have any bearing on the case; moreover, the Pan's-pipe is excluded from the list of instruments hypothetically corresponding to the ancient instrument in question.¹⁰³ The meaning 'bagpipe' is the oldest, as required by the etymology of the word,¹⁰⁴ which could be applied in the first instance only to an instrument capable of producing two sounds at once. In this sense, moreover, derivatives of *symphonia* are now current in central and southern Italy, Provence, Spain, Roumania, Hungary, and Greece, especially in localities where there is less intensity of life and activity of thought, where amid archaisms of speech antiquated manners and customs chiefly flourish. It was current in this sense, according to printed records, previous to the time when the name of a rustic musical instrument quite different from it came to be used as a name for the bagpipe.

In the light of the facts I have put in evidence there can be but one conclusion, namely, that the musical instrument

¹⁰¹ The modern *zampogna* and *carlamuso*, or bagpipe of Italy and Provence respectively, are played in concert with cymbals.

¹⁰² Formerly also current in French and English, but now obsolete in both of these tongues.

Old French, *cifonie* was certainly the name of the hurdy-gurdy, which is still called *chifourney* in Guernsey.

Old English, *symphony*, probably a name of the bagpipe. See note 92.

¹⁰³ See p. 108.

¹⁰⁴ See pp. 102 f.

Professor Moore, *l.c.* p. 172, acknowledges the importance of the question involved in the etymology of the word. "The name *συμφωνία*, in its etymological sense, would apply more properly to the double-pipe, by which two tones are produced at once, than to the Pan's-pipe."

called in Greek *συμφωνία*, in Aramaic *sūmpōnyāh*, in Latin *symphonia*, is no other than the bagpipe, still called by the same name in Italian, Spanish, Provençal, Roumanian, Greek, and Hungarian.

Accordingly, in Dan. 3 5 *sūmpōnyāh* should be rendered as suggested by the margin of the Revised Version, the whole passage to read, "That at what time ye hear the sound of the cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, bagpipe, and all kinds of music, ye fall down and worship the golden image that Nebuchadnezzar the king hath set up."

Likewise, in Luke 15 25, the fact that *συμφωνία* is the name of a musical instrument being admitted,¹⁰⁵ it is necessary — as I recommended in my previous article¹⁰⁶ — to restore the interpretation of Wyclif, substituting only the modern word 'bagpipe' for the obsolete word 'symphony,' making the verse to read, "Now his elder son was in the field, and as he came and drew nigh to the house, he heard a bagpipe and dancing."

¹⁰⁵ Professor Moore, *l.c.* p. 175, writes: "I think, therefore, that Mr. Barry is right in taking *συμφωνία* in Luke 15 25 as the name of a musical instrument."

¹⁰⁶ On Luke 15 25, *συμφωνία*: Bagpipe, p. 190.


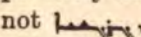
Gergesa — a Reply

F. C. BURKITT

CAMBRIDGE, ENGLAND

THERE is one point in Mr. Clapp's interesting and instructive article on Gergesa and Bethabara (*Journal of Biblical Literature*, xxvi. pp. 62-83) where I venture to think he has misinterpreted the Syriac evidence. I fear I may myself have helped to mislead him, as I did not fully understand the matter when I was editing S^a and S^c in *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*. In fact, I only recognized the importance of perfectly clear ideas about the 'Gergesenes' after reading his article.

The cure of the demoniac took place according to the best text of Matt. 8 28 in the country of the *Gadarenes*, but according to the best text of Mk. 5 1 and Lk. 8 26, 37 in the country of the *Gerasenes*. There is, however, a various reading, whereby *Gergesenes* (τῶν Γεργεσηνῶν) are substituted for Gadarenes or Gerasenes. Mr. Clapp seeks to show that the name Gergesenes is wholly due to a conjecture made by Origen, and therefore that all Mss. and Versions which attest Gergesenes are later than Origen (A.D. 230) and influenced by his speculations.

Among these textual authorities is S^a, the Sinai Palimpsest of the Old Syriac Version, which has 'Gergesenes' in Mk. 5 1, while reading Gadarenes in Matthew and Luke. On the reading of S^a in Mk. 5 1, Mr. Clapp remarks (p. 69): "It cannot be directly derived from Palestinian tradition, and probably also not directly from Origen, since it reads , not , as S^{1st} stands, and Origen must have read to make the connection with Gen. 15 21." S^{1st} is the Palestinian Syriac Lectionary, which reads 'Girgashites' in Matthew and

Luke,¹ thus identifying the Gadarenes or Gerasenes with the Old Testament Girgashites, as also Origen did. Mr. Clapp thinks that S^a here gives simply a transcription from a Greek Ms. that had adopted the Origenian correction in Mark, because it spells the name with 's' and not with 'sh,' thereby agreeing with the Greek *γεργεςηνοί* or *γεργεςαῖοι*, instead of the Hebrew גִּרְגָּשִׁי.

But a little further investigation will show that the facts really point the other way. I was wrong to translate גִּרְגָּשִׁי in Mk. 5 1 by 'Gergesenes'; I ought to have translated it 'Girgashites,' because it reproduces the Syriac Old Testament spelling of this ethnic name. Whenever the Girgashites (גִּרְגָּשִׁי) are mentioned, *e.g.* in Gen. 15 21, the Peshitta has גִּרְגָּשִׁי. This is also the form in the margin of the Harclean Syriac at Matt. 8 28, and it is correctly rendered there into Greek by *γεργεςιων*, *i.e.* 'Girgashites,' not 'Gergesenes.'²

Thus, S^a in Mk. 5 1 represents an exegetical theory which regards the people mentioned in the verse as 'Girgashites,' not necessarily the Greek variant *γεργεςηνῶν* for *γερσσηνῶν*. This also was Origen's view. I venture to think that Origen was not the first to suggest it.

Of course the question of Gergesa does not stand alone, as Mr. Clapp has seen. It is part of the question of the origin of the *Onomastica* and the earliest study of the Holy Places. It is true that most of this literature and tradition, as we have it, has passed through the hands of Origen or his disciples Eusebius and Jerome, but I do not think that Origen began it. It seems to me more likely that it took its rise in the local patriotism of Palestinian Christianity.

The cult of the Holy Places succeeded to the indifference of the second century. "It would seem that soon after A.D. 200 'the Places' was already a technical term in the

¹ S^{1st} is not extant for Mk. 5 1 (*pace* Clapp, p. 68, note). In Lk. 8 26 the Vatican Lectionary has the geographical gloss, "... land of Girgashites, which is opposite, on the other side to Galilee."

² That S^a should drop the *a* in גִּרְגָּשִׁי is quite characteristic; see *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, II, 40. The Targum of Onkelos calls the Girgashites גִּרְגָּשִׁי.

language of pilgrimage, though it is clear that it applied to the Holy Land at large, and not to the Holy City only."³ This is the judgment of Mr. C. H. Turner, who quotes the examples of Melito, Alexander, and Firmilian, as well as Origen. It hardly fell within Mr. Turner's immediate purpose to point out that Origen's interest in the Holy Places seems to begin only after his arrival in the Holy Land. We find it in the Commentary on S. John from Book VI onwards, written in Cæsarea, not in the earlier books written in Alexandria. Origen goes on pilgrimage to the Places, and finds some of the local identifications so plausible that he accepts them, and regards the current readings in Gospel Mss. as corrupt.⁴ He does not claim to have discovered 'Bethabara' or 'Gergesa.' At Bethabara in the gorge of the Jordan 'they say' that John baptized; at Gergesa, an ancient city by the Lake of Tiberias, there is a cliff from which 'it is pointed out' that the swine had been driven down by the devils;⁵ that is, in other words, Origen accepts the claim of places which have already claimed to be the sites mentioned in the Gospel.

The pilgrimage that Origen took must have been undertaken by the translator of the Old Syriac Version of the Gospel, or by some most intelligent Christian traveller on whose knowledge the translator relied. This unknown scholar—I should still like to call him Palut, but I fear Mr. Clapp would demur—had one advantage which Origen lacked. He was thoroughly skilled in Aramaic, his native language, and his ear discriminated between Semitic sounds which Origen confused. It is not, I think, sufficiently recognized, though I tried to lay stress upon it in *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* (see especially my note on 'Bethabara,' vol. ii., p. 309), that the Old Syriac Version of the Gospels is a very considerable achievement of what may be called Sacred Geography and Nomenclature. The translator has deliberately aimed at giving the proper Aramaic equivalents

³ C. H. Turner, in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, i., p. 551.

⁴ *Comm. on John*, § 40, γερόμενοι ἐν τοῖς τόποις ἐπὶ ἱστορίαν τῶν ἰχνῶν Ἰησοῦ.

⁵ *Ibid.*, § 40.

of the Greek names, and it is no easy matter in many cases to recognize Semitic words in a Greek transliteration. The Syriac Old Testament, itself almost certainly the work of Jews, no doubt helped him greatly. By its aid he was able to turn *Naxôp* into *Nâhor*, *Σαρούχ* into *Sârog*, *Λάμεχ* into *Lamk*. He was not afraid of making considerable changes on Old Testament authority, and so *Σαλμών* (Matt. 14. 5) becomes *Shalâ* (שלם) on the authority of the Peshitta text of Ruth 4 20. 21, just as *Ἠλείας* becomes *Elijah* in the English Revised Version. But for most of the geographical names the Old Testament failed him, and here he seems to me to have deliberately trusted to local identification rather than to mere transliteration of the Greek. Thus of the comparatively obscure names we get Beth 'Ania for *Βηθανία* (near Jerusalem), Beth Phagê for *Βηθφαγή*,⁶ Beth Hesdâ for *Βηζαθά* (or however the name in Joh. 5 2 may have been spelt), Beth Šaidâ for *Βηθσαιδά* or *Βηθσαιδάν*. Kurzin for *Χοραζέν*, and Nâsrath for *Ναζαρέθ* or *Ναζαρά*, have, according to the Peshitta tradition, here given, a rather peculiar vocalization. But the consonants, which alone are directly attested by S^a and S^c, agree with the totally independent witness of purely Jewish writings. Not all these Semitic reconstructions commend themselves to modern scholars, in particular some which were accepted by later Greek ecclesiastical tradition. But their generally scholarly character, their frequent agreement with Talmudic data, coupled with their wide divergence from the Greek forms of the words, do seem to indicate that the translator of the Syriac Gospels was more anxious to give the right geographical names than to reproduce the peculiarities of the Greek Ms. of the Gospels from which he was translating.

The main point is that in Mk. 5 1 it is not quite correct to say that S^v supports the reading *Γεργεσηνῶν*; the accurate

⁶ Beth Phag(g)ê means 'Place of Wild-Figs,' a much more likely name for a village than 'Place of Jaws' (*οἶκος σιαγόνων*), which is what Origen thought it was (*Comm. on John*, 10 30. 192). Apparently he, or his source, thought of *فحل*. Does this indicate a specifically Syriac element in the *Onomastica*? The Talmud has *בִּישְׁנִי* (e.g. Tal. b, *Sota*, 45 a).

statement is that S^v agrees with Origen in recognizing the *χώρα τῶν Γερασσηνῶν* as the 'land of the Gergashites.'⁷ Similarly in Joh. 1 28 S^v agrees with Origen in identifying *Βηθανία* beyond Jordan with that Bethabara which had already acquired a local fame as the place of John's baptism. Such agreement as this cannot of course be wholly independent, but as Origen speaks in each case of local claims (*δείκνυσθαι λέγουσι, δείκνυται*) the common source may very well be a knowledge of current Palestinian tradition, a tradition which may possibly have already begun to embody itself in early forms of the *Onomastica Sacra*. In these circumstances I still venture to date the Old Syriac Version of the Gospels about 200 A.D., and to regard that version as 'the earliest evidence we possess for the beginnings of the cult of the Holy Places' (*Ev. da-Mepharreshe*, ii., p. 309).

One conjecture at the end may be permitted, dealing not with the origin of the Syriac Version, but with the transmission of the story as a whole. On general grounds of Synoptic criticism, we may regard Mk. 5 1-20 as the original from which the parallel narratives in Matthew and Luke were derived, or at least as a fairly accurate representative of that original. Historical criticism of the tale must therefore start from the narrative in Mark. It seems to me not altogether hypercritical to see in Mk. 5 20 a clew as to the source from which this story came into Christian tradition. How did S. Mark know that the cured demoniac went home and told in the Decapolis the story of his wonderful healing? The answer obviously is that some one from the Decapolis, perhaps from Gerasa itself, told the story to S. Mark. In other words, the ultimate source of the narrative is the man who was healed: he tells the story as it appeared to him. Of course it has passed through other hands; we have to allow for the Evangelist himself and the man from whom the Evangelist heard the tale. But some of the more extravagant features of the story of the frenzied swine may very well

⁷ Note that *χώρα* is rendered 'Land' (ܠܕܐ) in Mk. 5 1 by S^v, not 'country' (ܡܕܝܢܐ). Does not this almost suggest that we are dealing with a conscious geographical paraphrase?

have taken concrete form in the diseased megalomania of 'him that had the Legion.' And if the tale came from Gerasa, we have an explanation why the action is supposed to occur in the 'country of the Gerasenes.'

Some Illustrations of New Testament Usage from Greek Inscriptions of Asia Minor

WILLIAM H. P. HATCH

GENERAL THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, NEW YORK

IN 1884-1885 Dr. J. R. Sitlington Sterrett, now of Cornell University, made two epigraphical and geographical journeys in Asia Minor. Many valuable inscriptions were discovered and copied, and these were published later in volumes ii and iii of the *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*.¹ The most important of these inscriptions for the student of the New Testament is doubtless the one given in vol. iii, no. 242, which settles definitely the location of Lystra. But there are other matters of interest and value for the interpretation of the New Testament to be learned from this collection of inscriptions, and it is to these that I would call attention in the following pages.

The age of the inscriptions cannot always be accurately determined. However, most of those mentioned in this article belong undoubtedly to the Imperial Period, and it is probable that they all do. Certainly none are earlier than the Roman Period (*i.e.* after 133 B.C., when Attalus III., the last king of Pergamus, died and his territory fell to the Romans). Whenever a closer determination of date is possible, it has been given.

I

ἀγάπη

This word occurs several times in the LXX and often in the New Testament, and according to the older scholars it

¹ Boston : Damrell and Upham, 1888.

is a strictly biblical and ecclesiastical word.² Thayer, however, refers to a passage of Philo³ in which ἀγάπη is used of *love of God* in contradistinction to *fear of God*. Since Philo is here not directly dependent on the LXX, it is clear that ἀγάπη must have been known to extra-biblical Hellenistic Greek.⁴ This reference to Philo's use of ἀγάπη was previously noted in the sixth edition of Liddell and Scott's *Greek Lexicon* (1869). Deissmann formerly believed that he had found another instance of the word in an Egyptian papyrus of the second century B.C.;⁵ but on a more careful examination of the passage the true reading was discerned to be παραχήν. This example therefore had to be withdrawn.⁶ Deissmann also refers to a scholium on Thuc. 2. 51. 5, in which the words φιλανθρωπίας καὶ ἀγάπης stand as a gloss on ἀρετῆς.⁷ But, as he himself admits, this case has little weight in determining the question, because we do not know in what age the scholiast lived, or whether he may not have been a Christian. Thumb maintains that ἀγάπη should not be regarded as "Jewish Greek," but he gives no references to it from Hellenistic sources.⁸ Moulton and Milligan's list of lexical illustrations from the papyri does not contain the word.⁹

However, ἀγάπη occurs once in an inscription from Asia Minor. *PAS*,¹⁰ ii. 57 (Tefeny, in Pisidia): πένψει δ' εἰς ἀγά[πη]ν σε φιλομειδῆς Ἀφροδείτη. The inscription is slightly mutilated, as is here indicated, but the restoration is certain. Unfortunately it is impossible to determine the date accurately, but from the shape of the letters the inscrip-

² Cf. Grimm-Thayer, *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament*, s.v., and the authorities there cited; and Cremer, *Biblich-theologisches Wörterbuch*⁹, p. 15.

³ *Quod Deus Immut.* § 14 (1. 283).

⁴ Cf. Deissmann, *Neue Bibelstudien*, p. 27 (Eng. tr., p. 199).

⁵ Cf. *id.*, *Bibelstudien*, p. 80.

⁶ Cf. *id.*, *Neue Bibelstudien*, p. 26 f. (Eng. tr., p. 198 f.).

⁷ Cf. *id.*, *Neue Bibelstudien*, p. 28 (Eng. tr., p. 200).

⁸ Cf. Thumb, *Die griechische Sprache*, pp. 182 and 185.

⁹ Cf. *The Expositor*, January, 1908, p. 51 f.

¹⁰ *I.e. Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.*

tion may safely be assigned to the Imperial Period. There can here be no question of LXX or New Testament influence in the choice of the word, for it occurs in a notoriously heathen context. The inscription gives the mantic significance of various throws of the dice.¹¹ Moreover, the mention of Aphrodite, with the Homeric epithet *φιλομειδής*, indicates the kind of *ἀγάπη* intended. It is clear therefore that this word is not confined to biblical and ecclesiastical writers or used only in a religious sense. It was a general word for *love* in the Hellenistic Period.

ἀναστρέφομαι

This verb used in a moral sense, meaning *to conduct* or *behave oneself*, occurs several times in the New Testament¹² and is commonly compared with the analogous use of the Hebrew *לָלַךְ*.¹³ However, in order to explain the usage, it is not necessary to have recourse to the Hebrew idiom. Deissmann has brought together no less than seven instances of the moral sense of *ἀναστρέφομαι* found in Greek inscriptions which date from the middle of the second century B.C. onwards.¹⁴ To these cases should be added the following: *PAS*, iii. 73 (Dulgerler, ancient Artanada, in Cilicia; Imperial Period): *ἀγνῶς ἀναστραφέντα*; *id.* iii. 423 (Kara Baulo, in Pisidia; probably Imperial Period): *ἀναστραφέντας . . . μεγαλοπρεπῶς καὶ εὐσχημόνως*.

Deissmann calls attention to the significance of Thayer's references to Xenophon, *Anab.* 2. 5. 14 and Polybius 1. 9. 7; 74. 13; 86. 5, etc., which are not noted in the third edition of Wilke's *Clavis*. Some of these references were previously given in the sixth edition of Liddell and Scott's *Greek Lexicon* (1869). Wendland refers also to the index in

¹¹ Dice-throwing with a mantic purpose was much practised in southern Asia Minor. Similar inscriptions are given in *PAS*, iii. 339-342; *Hermes*, 10 (1876), p. 193 f.; and Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, 1038.

¹² Cf. 2 Cor. 1 12; Eph. 2 8; 1 Pet. 1 17; 2 Pet. 2 18; Heb. 10 23; 13 18; 1 Tim. 3 15.

¹³ Cf. Grimm-Thayer, *s.v.*

¹⁴ Cf. Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, p. 83 (Eng. tr., p. 88); *id.*, *Neue Bibelstudien*, p. 22 (Eng. tr., p. 194).

Schenkl's edition of Epictetus and to Viereck's *Sermo Graecus*, p. 75.¹⁵

εὐσχήμων

In the Hellenistic Period *εὐσχήμων* was used in the sense of *honorable*, a meaning which it did not have in earlier times.¹⁶ In Mk. 15 43 and Acts 13 50 17 12 we have the word in the later sense, though elsewhere in the New Testament the earlier meaning of *comely* or *seemly* prevails. Grimm-Thayer refers to Josephus, *De Vita Sua* 9 and Plutarch, *Parallel. Graec. et Rom.* 15. 309 C. Other instances of the later sense are the following: *PAS*, ii. 17 (Makuf, ancient Heraclea, in Caria; Imperial Period): [ἐν]α τῶν εὐγενεσ[τάτ]ων καὶ εὐσχημονε[τ]άτων ἀπὸ προγόνων βουλευτῶν (cf. Mk. 15 43 Ἰωσήφ ὁ ἀπὸ Ἀριμαθαίας, εὐσχήμων βουλευτής); *id.* iii. 181 (Zengibar Kalesi, ancient Palaea Isaura, in Isauria; Imperial Period): ἐκ προγόνων [εὐ]σχήμονα; *id.* iii. 402 (Kara Baulo, in Pisidia; probably Imperial Period): ἄνδρα εὐσχήμονα; *id.* 408 (same place; Imperial Period): ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν καὶ εὐσχήμονα.

εὐσχημόνως

In like manner the adverb *εὐσχημόνως* is used in the sense of *honorably*: *PAS*, iii. 423 (Kara Baulo, in Pisidia; probably Imperial Period): ἀναστραφέντας . . . μεγαλοπρεπῶς καὶ εὐσχημόνως. In the New Testament, however, *εὐσχημόνως* occurs only in the sense of *decently*.

ἡγεμών

Ἠγεμών is sometimes used in the New Testament of the *legatus Augusti*, or governor of a Roman province.¹⁷ Grimm-Thayer so interprets the word in these passages, but gives no references to extra-biblical sources. In Hellenistic Greek *ἡγεμών* had a wide range of application, standing for the official titles *princeps*, *imperator*, *procurator*, and *legatus*

¹⁵ Cf. Wendland in *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1895, col. 902 (cited by Deissmann, *Neue Bibelstudien*, p. 22, n. 2 (Eng. tr., p. 194, n. 2)).

¹⁶ Cf. Phryn., p. 333 (Lobeck).

¹⁷ Cf. Mt. 10 18; Mk. 13 9; Lk. 21 12; 1 Pet. 2 14.

Augusti.¹⁸ The following inscription illustrates the use of ἡγεμόν for a *legatus Augusti*: *PAS*, iii. 4 (Mut, ancient Claudiopolis, in Cilicia): [ἐπιμεληθέντος τοῦ κ[υ?]ρίου ἡγεμόνος. If the restoration of Sterrett is correct, the inscription belongs to the years 198–211 A.D. During the reign of Hadrian Cilicia was an imperial province, and it continued as such until the Turkish conquest in the eleventh century. Hence, the κύριος ἡγεμόν here mentioned was the *legatus Augusti* of Cilicia.

κυριακός

The adjective *κυριακός*, which occurs in 1 Cor. 11 20 and Rev. 1 10, is often said to be a biblical and ecclesiastical word.¹⁹ Jülicher formerly thought that it was coined by St. Paul.²⁰ Cremer, however, probably following Stephanus,²¹ notes the extra-biblical use,²² and Liddell and Scott cite inscriptions in which it is applied to the imperial treasury.²³ Moreover, Deissmann mentions no less than nine cases of the word in the sense of *imperial* found in inscriptions and papyri.²⁴ The earliest of his examples is from Egypt and dates from the year 68 A.D. In the following inscriptions, which of course belong to the period of the Empire, *κυριακός* means *imperial*: *PAS*, ii. 14 (Makuf, ancient Heraclea, in Caria): ἀποτίσει τῷ κυριακῷ [φ]ίσκῳ; *id.* ii. 21 (same place): ἀπο[τ]είσει [τ]ῷ κυριακῷ φίσκῳ.²⁵

Κυριακός occurs also as a proper name: *PAS*, ii. 89 (Isparta, in Pisidia); *id.* iii. 465 (Baīyat, ancient Seleucia

¹⁸ Cf. Hort, *The First Epistle of St. Peter*, p. 141; and Hahn, *Rom und Romanismus*, pp. 117, 259, 260.

¹⁹ Cf. Grimm-Thayer, *s.v.*

²⁰ Cf. Jülicher, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*^{1 2}, p. 31. This opinion is not expressed in the 3. and 4. (1901) and 5. and 6. (1906) editions.

²¹ Cf. Deissmann, *Neue Bibelstudien*, p. 44 (Eng. tr., p. 217).

²² Cf. Cremer⁹, p. 625.

²³ Cf. Liddell and Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon*⁷, *s.v.*

²⁴ Cf. Deissmann, *Neue Bibelstudien*, p. 44 f. (Eng. tr., p. 217 f.) and *New Light on the New Testament*, p. 82. Two of these were noted previously in Liddell and Scott's *Lexicon*⁷.

²⁵ In *PAS*, ii. 204 (Konia, ancient Iconium, in Lycaonia) Dr. Sterrett restores τῷ κυριακῷ φίσκῳ. Though not without analogy, this is pure conjecture, and for that reason the inscription is not included here.

Sidera, in Lycaonia). These inscriptions are both Christian and probably belong to the year 450 A.D.

κύριος

In Acts 25²⁶ κύριος is used by Festus as a designation of the Roman emperor, and is equivalent to the Latin *dominus*.²⁵ This title was disclaimed by Augustus and Tiberius as a reproach and insult,²⁷ because it was felt to be out of keeping for the head of a government in which republican traditions still persisted. Caligula, however, desired to be called *dominus*,²⁸ and Domitian also was fond of the title.²⁹ Thus, in course of time *dominus* became established as a regular epithet of the emperor. However, there is evidence from inscriptions, papyri, and ostraca showing that in the East κύριος was used as a designation of the emperor even in the time of Tiberius and Claudius, and that it was commonly so employed in the reign of Nero.³⁰ The following instances of κύριος as a title of the emperor are found in inscriptions from Asia Minor: *PAS*, ii. 5 (Ali Agha Tehiftlik, in Caria. It is impossible to determine the reign): τοῦ κυρίου [αὐ]τοκράτορος; *id.* ii. 13 (Kara Hissar, in Caria. The reign is uncertain): τοῦ κυρίου Κ[αίσαρος]; *id.* ii. 32 (Karayuk Bazar, in Pisidia. The inscription belongs to the years 292–305 A.D.): [τ]οῖς [κυρί]οις ἡμῶν αὐτοκράτο[ρ]σιν. An interesting parallel to this use of κύριος occurs in an Aramaic inscription from Palmyra of the third century after Christ, in which the Roman emperor is called קסר מרן.³¹

Kύριος, like its equivalents in other languages, had a wide range of application, because it denoted supreme authority in different spheres. Hence, it was equally applicable to

²⁵ On this title of the emperor cf. Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht* 2, ii. p. 737 f.

²⁷ Cf. Ovid, *Fast.* 2. 142; Suet., *Aug.* 53; Tac., *Ann.* 2. 87; Suet., *Tib.* 27.

²⁸ Cf. Victor, *Caes.* 3. 12.

²⁹ Cf. Suet., *Dom.* 13.

³⁰ Cf. Deissmann, *New Light on the New Testament*, p. 80 f.; Grenfell and Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, 37, l. 6 (Claudius); Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka aus Aegypten und Nubien*, 1038 (Claudius), 10–19, 410, 413–420, etc. (Nero).

³¹ Cf. Case in *JBL*, xxvi. (1907), p. 155.

the Roman emperor and to Christ—to the former as exercising the highest civil power and to the latter as the supreme authority in the realm of the spirit.

νομικός

The substantive *νομικός*, referring to an interpreter and teacher of the Mosaic law, is found several times in the New Testament³²; and in the general sense of a *lawyer* it occurs in the later literature and in inscriptions.³³ Grimm-Thayer, however, gives no extra-biblical references to the occurrence of the word either with the specific meaning of *one learned in the Mosaic law* or in the general sense of a *lawyer*. An example of the latter is preserved in an inscription from Asia Minor: *PAS*, ii. 137 (Yalowadj, ancient Antiochia Pisidia, in Phrygia; probably Imperial Period): *Α. Μαλίφ Μαξίμω νομικῷ*.

ξέστης

This word, which is a common Hellenistic representative of the Latin *sextarius*,³⁴ occurs only once in the New Testament.³⁵ In Mk. 7 4 it is used of *pots* or *ewers* without any reference to a definite measure. But in the primary sense of a *sextarius* it is found in the following inscription from Asia Minor: *PAS*, ii. 48 *bis* (Karamanlü, in Phrygia; Imperial Period): *[ἐ]λαίου ξέσ(τας) ζ' . . . ἐλαίου ξ[έ]στας ζ'*; *id.* ii. 49 (part of the same *cippus*): *οἶνου ξέστας ρ'*.

ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ κοιτῶνος

In Acts 12 20 Blastus, an officer of Herod Agrippa, is described as *ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ κοιτῶνος*. Though the use of *ἐπὶ* in

³² Cf. Mt. 22 25 (Burkitt in *Enc. Bib.* 4991 says the word is foreign to the diction of Matthew and thinks it is derived from Lk. 10 25. But it cannot be said to be peculiar to Luke); Lk. 7 30; 10 25; 11 45 46 52; 14 3; Tit. 3 13.

³³ Cf. Plut., *Sulla* 36; *id.*, *Quaes. Rom.* 30, 271 E (cited by Hahn, *Rom und Romanismus*, p. 224, n. 5); *CIG*, 2787 and 2788 (both from Caria; cited in Liddell and Scott's *Lexicon*⁷, s.v.).

³⁴ For references to literary sources cf. Grimm-Thayer's *Lexicon*, s.v., and Liddell and Scott's *Lexicon*⁷, s.v. See also Hahn, *Rom und Romanismus*, pp. 108, 238, 253, 254, 257, 262.

³⁵ In Mk. 7 3 the clause in which it is contained is omitted by *MBL*, etc., and is evidently a scribal error.

official titles to denote the sphere of authority is not uncommon³⁶; yet, so far as the present writer is aware, this particular expression has not been found elsewhere. It occurs, however, in an inscription from Asia Minor: *PAS*, ii. 3 (Kavakavak, in Caria; reign of Hadrian): τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ [κ]ο[ιτ]ῶν[ος]. The inscription is somewhat mutilated, but the reading given is highly probable.

ὁ καί

In Acts 13 9 the Apostle to the Gentiles is called Σαῦλος ὁ καὶ Παῦλος. Heretofore he has been designated Σαῦλος in every case, but hereafter the writer always uses the Latin name Παῦλος. It is not, however, my purpose to discuss the reason for this change or its possible significance.³⁷ I am concerned only with the expression ὁ καί as a formula used with double names.

Abundant evidence has been adduced to show that ὁ καί with such names was common in the Hellenistic Period.³⁸ In many cases these double names are bilingual, but sometimes the two parts belong to the same language.³⁹ The earliest example from an epigraphic source yet cited occurs in an inscription dating from the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes (*circa* 175 B.C.);⁴⁰ but in a fragment of Ctesias, who flourished about 400 B.C., Dr. Stearns has found an instance of this elliptical ὁ καί.⁴¹ This case is especially interesting, because it shows that a common Hellenistic idiom had made its appearance during the Classical Period of Greek literature, whereas it has generally been supposed that this usage was confined to the later language. It may not be inappro-

³⁶ Cf. Grimm-Thayer's *Lexicon*, s.v. ἐπὶ A, i. 1. d; Liddell and Scott's *Lexicon*?, s.v. ἐπὶ A, iii. 1; and Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, p. 174 f. (Eng. tr., p. 306 f.).

³⁷ Cf. Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 81 f.

³⁸ Cf. Wetstein, *Novum Testamentum*, ad loc.; Schmid, *Atticismus*, iii. p. 338; Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, p. 181 f. (Eng. tr., p. 313 f.).

³⁹ Cf. *PAS*, iii. 253 (Περωνίῳ τῷ καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ), 375 (Ζωτικοῦ τοῦ καὶ Ἑρμοῦ and Ποσειδώνειος ὁ καὶ Αἰζάνων), 528 (Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ καὶ Ἀρτέμιωνος).

⁴⁰ Cf. Schmid, *op. cit.*, iii. p. 338.

⁴¹ Cf. Stearns in *JBL*, xix. (1900), p. 53. Dr. Deissmann's earliest literary examples are from Josephus; cf. *Bibelstudien*, p. 182 (Eng. tr., p. 314).

priate to add to the instances already collected the following cases of *ὁ καί* with double names: *PAS*, ii. 55, 72, 187, 352; *id.* iii. 2, 22, 160, 253, 336, 364, 375 *bis*, 417, 480, 528, 612, 623, 637, 642. All these inscriptions except the last two were found in the southern half of Asia Minor. Nos. 637 and 642 are from Palmyra, but they are cited here because they are included in Sterrett's collection.

In a Latin inscription found at Regium Iulium in Bruttium *ὁ καί* appears as *o cae*: D. M. FABIA SPERATA SALLVSTIS ACATHOCLES O CAE RODIOS ATOIC ΕΠΟΗ-CAN.⁴² The use of *qui et* in this sense is not uncommon.⁴³

οικοδεσπότης

This word is found several times in the synoptic gospels, but it does not occur elsewhere in the New Testament. According to Phrynichus it was not used by the earlier Greeks,⁴⁴ and the first occurrence of the word in the extant literature seems to be in the comic poet Alexis, who flourished about the middle of the fourth century B.C.⁴⁵ Grimm-Thayer refers also to Josephus, *c. Ap.* 2. 11. 3, Plutarch, *Quaes. Rom.* 30. 271 E, and Ignatius, *ad Eph.* 6. Another instance of *οικοδεσπότης* in an inscription from Asia Minor is worthy of mention: *PAS*, iii. 150 (Ashagha Eshenler, in Isauria; Imperial Period): *υἱὸς τοῦς οἰκοδεσπ[ότα]ς*.

σὺν καί

Deissmann notes the pleonastic use of *καί* after *μετά* in Phil. 4 3, to which he has found a parallel in an Egyptian papyrus.⁴⁶ Blass had previously called attention to the similar *σὺν καί* in Clem. Rom. 1 Cor. 65 1,⁴⁷ and Deissmann gives several cases of this expression from the papyri.⁴⁸ *Σὺν*

⁴² Cf. *CIL*, x. 11, O CAE RODIOS, etc. = *ὁ καί* 'Ρόδιος αὐτοῖς ἐποίησαν.

⁴³ Cf. Schmid, *op. cit.*, iii. p. 338.

⁴⁴ Cf. Phryn., p. 373 (Lobeck).

⁴⁵ Cf. Alexis, *Frag.* 225 (Kock), cited by Grimm-Thayer.

⁴⁶ Cf. Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, p. 58, n. 2 (Eng. tr., p. 64, n. 2); *Neue Bibelstudien*, p. 93 (Eng. tr., p. 265 f.).

⁴⁷ Cf. Blass, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*, p. 257 (Eng. tr., p. 263).

⁴⁸ Cf. Deissmann, *Neue Bibelstudien*, p. 93 (Eng. tr., p. 266).

καί occurs also in an inscription from Asia Minor: *PAS*, iii. 612 (east of Iliis, in Phrygia; probably Imperial Period): σὺν καὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς.

τίτλος

In the gospel of St. John the inscription which Pilate placed upon the cross is called τίτλος.⁴⁹ In illustration of this usage Grimm-Thayer refers to *Ev. Nic.* 10. 1, which, however, is evidently dependent upon the passage in the Fourth Gospel. No additional references are given; but the word is not uncommon in the Hellenistic Period.⁵⁰ *Titulus*, from which τίτλος is derived, was the regular word in Latin for the placard giving the charge or offense on account of which a person suffered punishment.⁵¹ But it was also used of an epitaph,⁵² and it may not be inappropriate to note that τίτλος occurs with this meaning in the following inscriptions from Asia Minor: *PAS*, ii. 193 (Konia, ancient Iconium, in Lycaonia): ἀνεστήσαμεν ζῶντες ἑαυτοῖς τὸν τίτλον; *id.* ii. 200 (same place): τίτλον ἐ(ν)ποίηι; *id.* ii. 215 (same place): ἀνεστήσαμεν τὸν τίτλον τοῦτον; *id.* ii. 236 (same place) τίτλον ἔστησ[αν]. In *PAS*, ii. 212, another inscription from Iconium, Sterrett restores τίτλον. It is worthy of note that all of these inscriptions were found at Iconium and date probably from the Imperial Period, most of them marking the graves of Christians.

This word sometimes appears in the neuter form τὸ τίτλον;⁵³ but in the Fourth Gospel and in the inscriptions mentioned above, wherever the gender is determinable, the word is masculine.

υἱὸς πόλεως

The metaphorical use of υἱός with a genitive in such expressions as υἱὸς τῆς βασιλείας and υἱὸς τοῦ φωτός is common in the New Testament, and is rightly explained as a

⁴⁹ Jn. 19 19 20.

⁵⁰ Cf. Hahn, *Rom und Romanismus*, p. 122.

⁵¹ Cf. Suet., *Calig.* 32; *Dom.* 10. See Hahn, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

⁵² Cf. Juv., *Sat.* 6. 230; Plin., *Ep.* 6. 10. 3; 9. 19. 3.

⁵³ Cf. *CIG*, 8621 (Taurian Chersonese).

Semitism.⁵⁴ יָד is similarly used in the Old Testament. But on the other hand, as Deissmann and Thumb have shown,⁵⁵ it is certainly incorrect to assume that this use of *υῖός* was unknown in Greek-speaking circles. The following epithets are found in the elevated style which appears on coins and in some inscriptions:⁵⁶ *υῖός τῆς γερονσίας*, *υῖός τῆς πόλεως*, *υῖός τοῦ δήμου*, *υῖός Ἀφροδισιέων*, etc.⁵⁷ *Τῖός πόλεως* occurs in the following inscriptions from Asia Minor: *PAS*, ii. 2 (Kiösk, in Caria; reign of Nero);⁵⁸ *id.* iii. 405, 409, 417, 420, 421 *bis* (all from Kara Baulo, in Pisidia; Imperial Period). In *PAS*, iii. 422, another inscription from the same place and of the Imperial Period, Sterrett restores *υῖός πόλεως* on the analogy of the preceding.

The similar expression *θυγάτηρ πόλεως* is found once: *PAS*, iii. 612 (east of Ilias, in Phrygia; probably Imperial Period).

Of course the metaphorical use of *υῖός* by the writers of the New Testament was in no way conditioned by the figurative application of the word in Greek-speaking communities. But the latter may have modified the impression produced by the New Testament expression when it was first heard or seen by the converts of Asia Minor. It would probably have seemed to them less striking than it does to us.

⁵⁴ Cf. Grimm-Thayer, *s.v.*; Cremer², p. 1022 f.; Blass, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*, p. 94 (Eng. tr., p. 95 f.).

⁵⁵ Cf. Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, p. 161 f. (Eng. tr., p. 161 f.); Thumb, *Die griechische Sprache*, p. 121. Thumb notes the occurrence of *υῖός θανάτου* in Hellenistic Greek.

⁵⁶ Cf. Le Bas et Waddington, *Inscriptions grecques et latines recueillies en Grèce et en Asie Mineure*, lii. 2, p. 26; Paton and Hicks, *The Inscriptions of Cos*, p. 125 f.; cited by Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, p. 166 (Eng. tr., p. 165).

⁵⁷ Deissmann, following W. Schulze, refers to the use of *υῖός τέχνης* by the tragedians (cf. Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, p. 166 — not in German edition). The analogous expression *παῖς τῆς τέχνης* occurs once in both Sophocles and Euripides (cf. Soph., *O.T.* 1080 and Eur., *Frag.* 979 Nauck); but the present writer has not been able to find an instance of *υῖός τέχνης* in Greek tragedy.

⁵⁸ Sterrett says (*PAS*, ii. p. 6): "Mr. Waddington places this inscription in the last years of Nero's reign, about 54 A.D.; cf. his commentary in *Voyage Archéologique*, 600 a." The words of the French savant are "dans les premières années du règne de Néron."

II

There are a number of New Testament names in this collection of inscriptions, and some of them are worthy of mention. The inscriptions in which they occur are probably all of the Imperial Period.

'Απελλῆς⁵⁹

PAS, ii. 397 (Caria). This inscription contains the Doric nominative 'Απελλᾶς and genitive 'Απελλᾶ. The 'Απελλᾶς here mentioned was a *tribunus militum* in the *legio III Cyrenaica*, which served in the campaign of Vespasian against the Jews in 69 A.D. and later with Trajan in the East.⁶⁰

'Αφία⁶¹

PAS, iii. 482, 508, 594 (Pisidia and Phrygia). In all these cases the name appears in the form 'Αφία—a spelling which Bishop Lightfoot ascribes to the carelessness of the stonecutters.⁶²

'Επαφρᾶς⁶³

PAS, iii. 375 (Phrygia). The genitive 'Επαφρᾶδος, like 'Αππᾶδος, Παππᾶδος, etc., is found here; whereas in the New Testament the form 'Επαφρᾶ only is used.⁶⁴

Θεόφιλος

PAS, ii. 188 (Isauria).

Κυρία

In 2 Jn. 1. 5 Κυρία may be a proper name, though it is now generally understood figuratively of a community of Christians.⁶⁵ The name, however, is not uncommon in the

⁵⁹ Cf. Lightfoot, *St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians*⁶, p. 174.

⁶⁰ Cf. Egbert, *Introduction to the Study of Latin Inscriptions*, p. 408.

⁶¹ Cf. Lightfoot, *St. Paul's Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon*⁶, p. 306 f.; Zahn, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*², i. p. 325.

⁶² Cf. Lightfoot, *Colossians*⁶, p. 306 f.

⁶³ Cf. Zahn, *op. cit.*, i. p. 325.

⁶⁴ Col. 1. 7 (no variant readings).

⁶⁵ Jülicher, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*^{5 6}, p. 216 (Eng. tr., p. 250).

time of the Empire, several instances having been noted by Lücke.⁶⁶ To these should be added the following: *PAS*, ii. 159; *id.* iii. 237, 326,⁶⁷ 557, 564 (Phrygia, Isauria, Lycaonia).

Ὀνησίμους⁶⁸

PAS, ii. 39, 42, 47, 74, 84, 196; *id.* iii. 168, 170, 216 (?), 366 *bis*, 376(?), 476 *bis*, 482, 503(?) (Phrygia, Pisidia, Lycaonia, Isauria). The feminine form Ὀνησίμῃ occurs once: *id.* iii. 483 (Pisidia).

Σωσθένης

PAS, ii. 23, 24 (Caria).

Τρόφιμος

PAS, ii. 38,⁶⁹ 41, 43,⁶⁹ 72; *id.* iii. 6 (?), 489, 536 (Phrygia, Pisidia, Cilicia).

⁶⁶ Cf. Lücke, *Commentar über die Schriften des Evangelisten Johannes*, iii. p. 263 f. See also Pape, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*², s.v., where *CIG*, 6960 (place uncertain), is cited.

⁶⁷ The form of the name is here *Κυρίη*.

⁶⁸ Cf. Lightfoot, *Colossians*⁶, p. 810 f.; Zahn, *op. cit.*, i. p. 325.

⁶⁹ The name is here spelled *Τρόφιμος*.

On the Reading עיר המים, 2 Sam. 12 27

GEORGE A. BARTON

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE

SOME months ago in making a study of the history of Rabbah Ammon (*Amman*), I was struck with the peculiar text of 2 Sam. 12 26-28. It runs in R.V. as follows: "26 Now Joab fought against Rabbah of the children of Ammon and took the royal city (עיר המלוכה). 27 And Joab sent messengers to David, and said, I have fought against Rabbah, yea, I have taken the city of waters. 28 Now therefore gather the rest of the people together, and encamp against the city, and take it; lest I take the city, and it be called after my name."

It appears from this that Joab captured a "royal city," and that that city was identical with a "city of waters," but that this royal city was not the chief town at Rabbah, and was more easily taken than the real citadel—all of which seems strange. Why should the king live in any position except the most secure one? If there was a "city of waters" distinct from the Ammonite city, which was situated on the hill to the left of the modern Wady Amman, where was it situated? Down in the valley by the Jabbok? If so, its capture would not be difficult, and Joab would not have had much fighting to do to take it. Further, it does not appear how the capture of a "city" thus situated would have made Joab feel so confident of taking the town itself.

Kirkpatrick, however, so takes it (*Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges, ad loc.*). He quotes Tristram's *Land of Israel* to show how the wady bends to the north as it approaches Amman, broadening out into a valley under the hill, and giving it such an abundant supply of water that it

might be appropriately called "the city of waters." The taking of this lower city Kirkpatrick supposes cut off the water supply from the upper city, and rendered its fall certain.

Analogy, however, renders it extremely doubtful whether in ancient Palestine towns were situated in such valleys, and if they were, whether the people ever fortified them so as to try to defend them from an enemy. Hilltops or the ends of ridges were almost invariably chosen as sites for cities.¹

Cheyne (*Expository Times*, ix. pp. 143 ff.) states that Klostermann had proposed to emend the text of vs. 27 to עֵין הַמַּיִם. Cheyne, however, rejects this emendation, and proposes to emend to עֵיר מְלֶכֶם, and to suppose that Joab had taken some outlying shrine of the Ammonite God.

This emendation is open to all the objections which may be urged against the original reading, and is rejected by Budde. Budde himself, following Wellhausen, emends עֵיר הַמְּלוּכָה in vs. 26 to עֵיר הַמַּיִם (*Samuel in SBOT*), but keeps the latter. He remarks (*Die Bücher Samuel in Marti's Hand-Commentar, ad loc.*) that it is easy to understand that the "city of waters" was, since Rabbah lies by water, the fortification which guarded the spring of Rabbah.

H. P. Smith (*Samuel in the Inter. Crit. Com.*) treats the matter in the same way, defining the "city of waters" as "apparently a fortification built to protect the fountain which still flows at Amman." Where does this fountain flow at Amman? I noted no such spring when there, and can find mention of none in the books which describe it. Perhaps Professor Smith refers to the Jabbok itself.

Although it seems to me that greater definiteness in interpretation than Budde and Smith have reached is attainable, they are on the right track as to the historical fact, though perhaps another opinion is possible as to the original form of the Hebrew text.

Rabbah in the course of its history underwent two other sieges of which we have record. Polybius (v. 71) relates

¹ Cf. Vincent, *Canaan d'après l'exploration récente*, p. 26.

the story of the siege of Rabbah by Antiochus III in 218 B.C. He says that Antiochus found the city situated on a hill and capable of approach at two points only, that he set attacking parties to make breaches in the walls at these points, which they soon did, but that they were unable to accomplish any results by their unremitting attacks upon the city, until a prisoner revealed to them the underground passage by which the besieged were accustomed to descend to fetch water; breaking into this, they stopped it up with timber and stones and everything of that sort, and when this was done the garrison surrendered for want of water.²

Josephus (*Wars*, i. 195 ff.) relates that Herod the Great was sent before 30 B.C. by Antony at Cleopatra's suggestion to fight against the Arabians (Nabathæans), that he proceeded against Philadelphia, as Rabbah was then called, that he captured a certain fortified post,³ after which the inhabitants of the city were compelled by thirst to come out within a few days and surrender to Herod. Josephus in his narrative speaks vaguely of the topography. Evidently he was not very familiar with the topographical details, but there can be little doubt to one familiar with the narrative of Polybius that Herod but repeated the tactics of Antiochus, and captured the water source from which the besieged could obtain a supply without exposing themselves to attack.

It cannot be without significance that on the three occasions when the city is known to have been captured, it was reduced to submission in exactly the same way. This fact makes it probable that the water supply was in each case the same, and that the topographical features involved remained the same from the time of David to that of Herod.

² The passage runs in Greek: συνεχῶς δὲ καταπειράζοντες τῆς πόλεως, οὐ μὴν ἦνουν τῆς ἐπιβολῆς οὐδὲν, διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν εἰς τὴν πόλιν συνδεδραμηκότων ἀνδρῶν, ἕως οὗ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων τινὲς ὑποδείξαντος τὸν ὑπόνομον δι' οὗ κατέβαινον ἐπὶ τὴν ὕδρην οἱ πολιορκούμενοι, τοῦτον ἀναρρήξαντες ἐνέρραξαν ὕλη καὶ λίθοις καὶ παντὶ τῷ τοιοῦτῳ γένει. τότε δὲ συνείξαντες οἱ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν διὰ τὴν ἀνυδρίαν παρέδωκαν αὐτούς.

³ He calls it indifferently a φρούριον, which may mean anything from a citadel to a watch-post, and a χαράκωμα, a mere palisade.

Can we go a step farther and determine what those features were?

Conder, *Survey of Eastern Palestine*, p. 34, describes a rock-cut cistern which he discovered near the *Kalah*, or old city of Rabbah (see his chart opp. p. 24), as follows:

On the saddle of the hill, outside and immediately north of the *Kalah*, a very fine rock-cut tank was found by the Survey party. The entrance is on the north, a rock-cut door $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, inside which a very steep slope leads down to the floor of the tank. The mouth is about 50 paces (125 feet) north of the middle tower in the wall of the *Kalah*. The tank is 20 to 30 feet high, and rough steps are cut in the descent from the entrance, and on one side is a kind of shoot with a rock-cut parapet wall, as though for letting in the water. The main part of the tank is 20 feet wide and 93 feet long, north and south. There is a recess on the west with an arch-shaped roof, and the roof of the main chamber is rounded like a vault. The corresponding recess on the east side is 18 feet wide, 25 feet to the back, and on this same side there is a third recess of about equal size. . . . There is a curious passage just inside the entrance not far below the rock surface; it runs in at first eastwards, but gradually curves round southwards. It was pursued for 40 feet, when it becomes choked. It is 4 feet wide at the entrance, but gets gradually narrower and smaller as it goes south. It seemed possible that this was a secret passage from the interior of the *Kalah*, and may have led to a postern inside the tower above mentioned. It seems probable that this tank and passage are mentioned by Polybius.

This cistern, discovered by Conder, fulfills all the necessary conditions of a water supply such as Polybius describes, and such as the details of all three sieges presuppose. The underground passage is analogous to that discovered by Warren at Jerusalem,⁴ which led down from the old city to the Virgin's Fountain (Gihon), and to the rock-cut tunnel leading to a spring which Macalister has recently discovered at Gezer.⁵ Subsequent maps of Amman mark this cistern,

⁴ Cf. Warren and Conder's "Jerusalem," p. 369, in the *Survey of Western Palestine*.

⁵ See *Quarterly Statement*, April, 1908, pp. 96-108. A similar tunnel seems to exist at El-Jib (Gibeon), see Schick, *Quarterly Statement*, 1890, p. 23, and Père Vincent, *Quarterly Statement*, July, 1908, p. 225.

but I have found no description of the underground passage in any subsequent writer, not even in Brünnow and Domaszewski's *Provincia Arabia*. Dr. Nies informs me that he examined this passage when at Amman, and is convinced that it led to the inside of the wall. As this problem was not in my mind when at Amman, I regret that I did not also inspect it myself.

That the water supply of the city in case of siege was such a structure as that found by Conder seems to me altogether probable. It was evidently not on the south side of the city, nor did the secret passage lead down to the Jabbok, because a besieging party would be sure to look for such a place on that side, where it would be difficult to conceal it, and because in the valley it would be easy to take. Antiochus never suspected its existence apparently until it was revealed to him by captives. In the time of Herod it was guarded by a small fort, palisade, or tower, as pointed out above. Such a structure, if it existed in the days of David, might possibly be called עִיר הַמִּים, as Budde and Smith suppose, for 2 Kgs. 17 9 = 18 8: בְּכָל-עָרֵיהֶם מִמִּגְדָּל נֹצְרִים עַד-עִיר מְבֻצָּרָה — “in all their cities, from the tower of the watchmen to the fenced city” — shows that the word עִיר might be applied to the “tower of watchmen,” and so might apply to the *φρούριον* or *χαράκωμα* of Josephus. We have no assurance that such a fortification existed there then, however. It certainly did not in the time of Antiochus, for he never dreamed of such a water supply until captives revealed it to him.

It is clear, however, that Klostermann's reading עִי is to be rejected, if Conder's cistern was the water supply in question, for the word עִי, while applied to a spring or a well, is never, so far as I know, applied to a rock-cut cistern.

The readings of the versions do not afford much help. The LXX had before them the same text as the Massorettes, for they read τὴν πόλιν τῶν ὑδάτων in vs. 27, and τὴν πόλιν τῆς βασιλείας in vs. 26. Jerome had the same reading, translating *urbs aquarum* in vs. 27, and *urbem regiam* in

vs. 26. The Syriac and Targum on the other hand read "royal city" (קרית מלכותא and מנהל מלכותא) both in vs. 26 and vs. 27.

There is undoubtedly much to be said for the text as read by Wellhausen, Budde, and Smith. It would apply to such a fortification as Herod found there, if we suppose with them that the Massoretic text of vs. 26 had undergone corruption.

If we may suppose that the structure discovered by Conder was the cistern which gave rise to all these readings, however, there is another possibility. That structure had an arched roof. If it had such a roof in the time of David, as it had evidently in the time of Antiochus, it may not then have had even a palisade to defend it. The most common word for such a cistern in the O.T. is בִּרְכָה, which the Siloam inscription uses of the pool of Siloam, which 2 Sam. 4 12 applies to the pool in Hebron, 2 Sam. 2 13 to one in Gibeon, 1 Kgs. 22 38 to one in Samaria, and Cant. 7 5 to one in Heshbon, while it occurs often elsewhere, as in Neh. 2 14 and Eccl. 2 6. I would suggest that the original reading both in vss. 26 and 27 may have been בִּרְכַת הַמַּיִם, and that partly through the fading of letters in an early copy, and perhaps through a metathesis which brought the כ nearer the end of the word, this was corrupted in vs. 26 to עֵיר הַמַּלּוּכָה. This suggestion has the advantage over עֵיר הַמַּיִם of affording an original reading nearly of the length of the present corrupt text. It is difficult to understand how הַמַּיִם alone should be lengthened to הַמַּלּוּכָה. If such was the history of vs. 26, one can easily understand how בִּרְכַת הַמַּיִם might be changed to עֵיר in the following verse to correspond to the preceding, even if no bad writing contributed to the result. The possibilities between this and the reading עֵיר הַמַּיִם in both passages seem to me very evenly balanced, however, and the emendation is put forth as a tentative suggestion. The reading עֵיר has all the advantage of Ms. authority, the other being wholly conjectural. If the cistern had a small fortification, as in Herod's time, the reading עֵיר would be fitting; if it were roofed, as in the time of Antiochus, our emendation would find somewhat more support.

Notes on the Red Heifer

HENRY PRESERVED SMITH

MEADVILLE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

IT has already been pointed out by Professor Bewer¹ that the rite of the red heifer described in Num. 19 is an ancient sacrifice to the dead. I wish to supplement his argument by giving some details which are explicable only on his hypothesis. He notes the red color of the victim, parallel to the red color of offerings to chthonic divinities among the Greeks. The appropriation of red to the departed is, however, much more widespread² than would be indicated by this single instance.

The sex of the victim is as significant as the color, for female victims were usually chosen for the dead. The Mishna requires that the red cow of our text be unapproached by the male, and we are reminded that Ulysses vows to sacrifice a barren cow to the shade of Tiresias.³

The most remarkable thing about the red heifer is that the blood was not brought into the sanctuary. We remember at once that the giving of the blood to the shades to placate, revivify, or nourish them is the important thing in the rites of the dead. Moreover, the offerings to the dead are wholly consumed, usually on the ground, as seems to have been the case with the heifer.

The place of the sacrifice is significant. The law directs that it be without the camp in such a position that the blood can be sprinkled toward the face of the sanctuary.

¹ *JBL*, xxiv. pp. 41-44.

² See an article "Rot und Tot," in the *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, ix. pp. 1 ff.

³ Cited by Rohde, *Psyche*, p. 54; cf. Chantepie de la Saussaye, *Religionsgeschichte*, ii. p. 236.

But the sanctuary in the mind of the Levitical writers is the temple of Jerusalem. Their intent, therefore, is that the rite be performed on the Mount of Olives. The Talmud specifically asserts that this was the locality.⁴ But the Mount of Olives has always been the chief burial place of Jerusalem. The ancient sepulchres there are evidence that this was the case in ancient times as it is the case now. This would be exactly the place for a sacrifice to the dead. And it is noteworthy that the Greek text of our passage explicitly directs that the cow shall be brought to a *clean place*, and the Hebrew commands that the ashes be laid up in a clean place. The emphasis laid upon this shows that the place was one liable to contamination, even if we do not take the phrase here as an euphemism.⁵ The Talmud tells us that a bridge was built from the Temple to the place of burning and on this the heifer and her train made their progress. This is because of the casuistic theory that the taboo of a sepulchre did not infect one who was separated from it by an air space; that is, who passed over it by an arch or vault. This arrangement indicates again the nature of the place at which the rite was performed.

The Mishna⁶ relates that the pyre on which the heifer was burnt was made in the form of a tower with a window in it looking toward the Temple. Now in Arab antiquity a tent or booth was erected over the grave, primarily as a residence of the soul while it lingered near the body, and, as a secondary consideration, for the convenience of the mourners.⁷ At the end of the period it would be natural to burn such a structure, both because it was taboo and because it would be conveyed by the burning to the world of spirits where it might be useful to the departed. It does not seem extravagant to see in the pyre described in the Mishna the survival of this early booth.

The cedar wood, scarlet stuff, and hyssop, which are to be

⁴ Middoth, I. 3.

⁵ As was suggested by Professor Haupt when this paper was read.

⁶ *Para*, iii. 8.

⁷ Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, i. p. 255.

thrown into the flames, have long been a puzzle to the expositors. The same materials appear in the rite of cleansing for the leper, but there they are not burnt. It is, of course, possible, that they possessed some cathartic or prophylactic power, but I think another explanation possible. One of the most widespread funeral customs is that of burning the property of the deceased at his tomb. That this was done in Israel is apparently indicated by the mention of the burnings made for certain kings (Jer. 34 5, 2 Chr. 16 14, 21 19). Where the property left was valuable in the eyes of the survivors it early became customary to substitute articles of inferior value or even imitation articles like the paper money still sacrificed in China. At last such a custom would require only rudiments or fragments sufficient to quiet the conscience of the survivors. Such fragments I find in the cedar wood, scarlet stuff, and hyssop of our text. The cedar wood would represent the warrior's lance, the scarlet stuff his robe of state, the hyssop would stand for the humbler household implements.

Ostensibly the object of the rite is to prepare a water of purification. If, however, the efficacy of the liquid was given it by the ashes of a sacrifice to the God of Israel, it should avail against defilement of any kind. But as a matter of fact its use is strictly limited to cases of defilement from the dead. And as has often been noted by the commentators the water seems to have the two contradictory effects of defiling the clean and of purifying those who were polluted. If it were derived from an original sacrifice to the dead, its polluting effect would need no explanation. The question, therefore, suggests itself whether in fact the water has a purifying effect. Is it not rather the intention of the law to insist that the rites of consecration to the dead be fully complied with? The traditional period of mourning (seven days) is to be observed as a time of consecration to the departed. This consecration is marked by the sprinkling with the ashes on the third day and on the seventh. But after the time has elapsed the person affected is still under obligation to wash his clothes and take the ritual bath

before he can enter the sanctuary (vs. 19). The reason why the rite should be insisted upon is not far to seek. In popular belief the ghost which was neglected would be angry and would inflict disease or calamity upon those who omitted the customary rites. The priestly tradition found this belief too strong to be eradicated. It was, therefore, indulged. The customary rites were permitted, in fact enjoined, only they were now placed under supervision of the priest, and made a quasi-sacrifice to Yahweh.

The Septuagint Rendering of שָׁגִיז

JAMES A. KELSO

WESTERN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, ALLEGHENY, PA.

TO attempt to write anything new on the word שָׁגִיז, Ps. 7 1, Hab. 3 1 (?), evinces considerable temerity, seeing that it has baffled the critical acumen of the greatest Old Testament interpreters. W. T. Davison¹ expresses the despair of the commentators when he writes, "There appears to be nothing either in etymology, tradition, or the character of the two psalms in question to guide modern readers definitely to the meaning of the word." A review of the various explanations offered amply justifies the use of such language, but it is noticeable that no serious attempt is made to account for the LXX translation ψαλμός. The word ψαλμός is treated as a textual error, or cast aside as colorless, and regarded as a leap in the dark by the Hellenistic translator. The eminent scholar Nestle, in many of his critical notes scattered through the *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* and other periodicals, has clearly proved that in many instances an apparently inexplicable LXX rendering conceals a long-lost Hebrew word or root.

The present writer holds the view that in this instance the LXX points to a lost Hebrew root, from which שָׁגִיז is derived, and that in the ψαλμός of the Alexandrian version we have preserved for us the etymological meaning of the Hebrew word. It will be seen that this derivation also accounts for LXX μετὰ ῥόδης in Hab. 3 1, where the Massoretic text has שָׁגִיז עַל.² The later Greek versions and

¹ *HDB*, iv, p. 155 a.

² Buhl in his lexicon, following Wellhausen, thinks שָׁגִיז was the Hebrew text before the LXX translator in Hab. 3 1. This is a bold conjecture, requiring too many conjectural changes in the text. On our theory, as will be seen, this emendation is entirely unnecessary.

Jerome agreed as to their interpretation of שְׁנִיחַ. Theodotion rendered it ὑπὲρ ἀγνοίας, Aquila ἀγνόημα, Jerome *pro ignoratione*, all three connecting it with the word שְׁנִיחַ (Ps. 19 13). In this case the derivation would be from a root שָׁנָה or שָׁנָה, signifying to go astray or wander. Both Ewald and Delitzsch³ have followed these later versions in their etymology and exegesis of the word. According to the view of these two scholars a שְׁנִיחַ was a 'Taumelgedicht,' or a dithyramb, a song expressing the rapid change of violent emotions with corresponding external movements. Halévy,⁴ who connects the Hebrew word with the Assyrian *šegû*, interprets in much the same way as Ewald and Delitzsch. The difficulty is that Ps. 7 and Hab. 3 are not accurately described as 'Taumelgedichte' or dithyrambs. As usual, Cheyne⁵ has his own peculiar view. After rejecting the derivation of Ewald and Delitzsch, he remarks: "More plausible would be a 'prophetic rhythm' (שָׁנָה = שָׁנָה; cf. Ar. *sa'ja*, the rhyming prose of the Arabian *kāhins* or diviners)." But Cheyne recognizes the difficulty and improbability of even this derivation, because neither the psalm in question nor the prayer of Habakkuk is prophetic. Being rather skeptical about his own theory, he closes his comments by favoring the etymology suggested by Halévy.

Strange to say, none of these writers has considered the translations of the LXX, ψαλμός (cf. μετὰ ᾠδῆς, Hab. 3 1). The rendering may be colorless, as Olshausen⁶ maintains, when the word is studied as the title of the psalm, and yet his explanation is wide of the mark as a reason for the use of the two Greek words ψαλμός and ᾠδή by the Alexandrian

³ Cf. Commentaries, *ad loc.*

⁴ Halévy states his view as follows: "שְׁנִיחַ est le nom d'un instrument de musique (Hab. 3 1) et probablement aussi la désignation d'un genre de chant dont cette musique était ordinairement accompagnée. A en juger par l'assyrien *šegû* "prière," il semblerait qu'elle se composait de sons doux et languissants peignant la prière fervente d'une âme confiante dans son droit et attendant un prompt retour de la fortune, comme le sont en effet les deux prières qui portent en tête le terme שְׁנִיחַ." — *Revue Sémitique*, 1894, p. 1.

⁵ EB col. 4465.

⁶ Olshausen, *Die Psalmen*, p. 28.

translator. It is more reasonable to suppose that the latter had some definite theory as to the meaning of שִׁנְיִן, colorless and indifferent though it may seem to us, as he lived much nearer to the date of the original composition than any of the later translators.

A Syriac word gives us the key to his rendering. In this Aramaic dialect we have a verb שָׁנַת meaning to sing, and with this sense it occurs in 1 Sam. 21 12. The Syriac also has the noun שְׁנִידָא meaning song or verse (cf. Joshua, the Stylite 52, ed. Wright); in addition there is the *nomen agentis* מְשַׁנֵּן. These words illumine the LXX rendering of the Hebrew term. In the age of the origin of the LXX version a Hebrew root שָׁנַה, meaning 'to sing,' was current, and later must have become obsolete. According to the law of the mutation of consonants, the Aramaic *Samekh* becomes *Sin* in Hebrew, *i.e.* Aramaic שָׁנַה = Hebrew שָׁנָה.⁷ It is evident that the later translators—Theodotion, Aquila, and Jerome, as well as the Massoretes—mistook the initial *Sin* for *Shin*, and deriving שִׁנְיִן from the root שָׁנַה, took it as a synonym of שְׁנִיאוֹת. This explains why the Midrash and Rashi associate Ps. 7 with some sin of David. We have not discovered the special nuance of the term under discussion, and yet it is difficult to see why ψαλμός or ᾠδή is any more colorless as the rendering of שִׁנְיִן than as the translations of מְזִמֹּר in the titles of the Psalms, if the explanation offered in this paper is correct.

⁷ As examples of this change note שִׁיבָה and Syr. شَبَا (root سَاب); שִׁיחַ and Syr. شَيْخ, *et al.*

Eliezer of Damascus

JULIUS A. BEWER

UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

LIKE a puzzle that by its very difficulty challenges a new trial again and again, so the Eliezer-passage in Gen. 15² compels one to seek a solution that will be really worth while. In the attempts that have been made thus far one point in the solution has been clearly recognized: that **דַּמְשֶׁק** "i.e. Damascus" is an explanatory gloss on the difficult and unintelligible **יֶבֶן-דְּמֶשֶׁק**. A reader who tried to elucidate this phrase wrote in the margin the note "i.e. Damascus." The very construction shows that **דַּמְשֶׁק** is a secondary element, for "Damascus Eliezer" is meaningless, and the reading of the Targum and of the Syriac Version "Eliezer the Damascene" is so evidently in the nature of a guess that we need not seriously consider the probability of its representing the original text.¹

The second point in the solution is the recognition that the meaning of **מֶשֶׁק** is entirely unknown and that the translation "acquisition, possession" is a pure conjecture based on the context² and on the analogy of **מִמְשָׁק**. Now, **מִמְשָׁק** also occurs only once, Zeph. 2^a, where it is usually translated "possession." But its meaning is altogether dubious and the translation "possession" is nothing but a conjecture. To build one conjecture on another conjecture is, however, not the way that leads to certainty; and especially if the correctness of the first conjecture is open to doubt.

That even the old Hebrews did not know what **מֶשֶׁק**

¹ אליעזר מֶשֶׁק or אליעזר דַּמְשֶׁק

² The parallel narrative in vs. 3 had **בְּדִבְתִּי יִרְשׁ אֹתִי** "a son of my household will be mine heir," so it was conjectured that **בְּדִמְשָׁק** meant "the son of acquisition (= he who is to acquire, the heir of)"; cf. BDB.

meant is shown by the explanatory gloss, "*i.e.* Damascus," which is obviously wrong. This makes it certain that there must be some textual corruption in **מִשְׁקָךְ** which antedates not only the Massoretic text and the Hebrew text of LXX, but also this earliest attempt at explanation. It is vain therefore to look for external help.

But what could possibly have stood there originally? The context and the beginning of the verse are quite clear. Jahve promised Abram "exceeding great reward," whereupon Abram said, "O Lord Jahve, what wilt Thou give me, seeing I am childless. . . ." We should expect Abram now to voice his longing for a son. And I think the original text did indeed contain this, for if but two consonants, **ב** and **ש**, are transposed, the following text results:

MT. **ובנמשקביתי**

ובנמבקשתי

i.e. **ובָנִים בְּקִשְׁתִּי**

"O Lord Jahve, what wilt Thou give me, seeing I go childless *and have craved sons?*"

It was but a very slight textual mistake at first, but after the transposition had been made and the resultant text had been divided off into three words it became unintelligible and called forth an interpretative statement, which when incorporated into the text added to the confusion so that it finally seemed hopeless to disentangle the knot.

But now **אֱלִיעֶזֶר** stands altogether alone and unconnected with the rest of the sentence! It is noteworthy that Eliezer is mentioned only here, nowhere else. The other sources do not know him at all. This is certainly strange and raises the suspicion whether his name here in Gen. 15:2 belongs to the original text, or whether there is not also in **אֱלִיעֶזֶר** a textual corruption. Immediately there suggests itself the division of **אֱלִיעֶזֶר** into **אֱלִי עֶזֶר**, *My God, help!* But in view of the emphasis on the offspring **וְרֵעַ** of Abram in vs. 5 it seems most likely that the text read originally for

אליצור
אין לי ורע

I have no offspring.

This is exactly in line not only with the preceding but also with the continuation in vs. 5, for vv. 3. 4 belong to the other document. A single reading will show this: Jahve told Abram, "thy reward shall be exceeding great. And Abram said, O Lord Jahve, what wilt Thou give me, seeing I go childless *and have craved sons?* *I have no offspring!* And He brought him forth abroad, and said, Look now toward heaven, and tell the stars, if thou be able to count them: and He said unto him, So shall *thine offspring* be."

It may be urged against this emendation that it makes Abram say the same thing twice, "I go childless" and "I have no offspring." But this depends entirely on the tone in which the sentence is read. It is a moving appeal in the tone of supplication and therefore in meaning equivalent to "give me offspring" תִּתֵּן לִי וֶרֶע, but it expresses this more delicately and pathetically.

Textual Suggestions on Isa. 2⁶ 66³, Zeph. 2^{2.5}

JULIUS A. BEWER

UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

ISAIAH 26

THE difficulty is in the last word **יִשְׁפִּיקוּ**. It used to be connected with **שַׁפַּק** *Qal*, to be plenty, many; *Hi.*, to have plenty, to have a great number. But this view is abandoned by most, though not by all, scholars.¹ Most recent critics derive it from **שַׁפַּק** = **סַפַּק** "to strike," and change **וַיִּבְלְדוּ** to **וַיִּבְדְּדוּ**, translating "and they strike hands with foreigners." But this is not quite satisfactory either, for the idea of foreign alliances is not in the context. The verse speaks of divination (read **מִקְסָם** for **מִקְדָּם**) and soothsaying. If foreign intercourse were given as the reason for the prevalence of these magic and mantic practices, it would have been brought out more clearly and the connection would have been indicated in some way.² We expect rather that the thought of the beginning of the verse should be developed still further, especially when we see that in vs. 8 there are three clauses used to express the one thought of idolatry. Since "the children of foreigners" are parallel to the "Philistines" of the previous clause, we look for a

¹ Thus, e.g., Whitehouse in the *New Century Bible on Isaiah*, 1905, translates "are crowded with."

² Besides, the expression **שַׁפַּק בִּיד** in the sense of "striking hands with" for the purpose of an alliance is unusual and occurs only in this conjecture. Usually the phrase runs **סַפַּק כַּפַּיִם** "to clap one's hands" either in anger (Num. 24 10), or in mockery (Lam. 2 15 Job 27 23). Of course, this does not imply that **שַׁפַּק בִּיד** may not have been a good Hebrew phrase, but only that we cannot control it. The Arabic *safaga* has the meaning "strike (hands)" as well as "slap (the face)" and *safqatun* is the term used in bargaining for the *hand-clasp* that seals the bargain.

parallel of **יִשְׁפִּיקוּ** in **עֲנִיִּים**. And it seems therefore very likely that the original text read instead of

וּבְיַלְדֵי נְקָרִים יִשְׁפִּיקוּ
וּבְיַלְדֵי נְקָרִים יִכְשְׁפוּ

"For they are full of divination,
 and are soothsayers like the Philistines,
 and *practice sorcery* as the children of foreigners."

ISAIAH 66 3

It is generally acknowledged that we need some participle before **דָּם** in the clause **מִנְחָה דָּם-חֲוִיר**. Usually **נֹסֶךְ** is supplied. But it is not easy to see how this could have been omitted, and the whole structure of the verse speaks against it. It appears to me more probable that the text had originally **מָרִים** which was misread **דָּם**. The structure of the verse favors it; it is strictly parallel to **מִנְחָה**. Compare Lev. 22 15 for **רִים** in the sense of "offer, sacrifice."

The verse then reads,

"He that killeth an ox is as he that slayeth a man,
 he that sacrificeth a lamb as he that breaketh a dog's neck,
 he that bringeth an oblation as *he that offereth* a swine,
 he that burneth frankincense as he that blesseth an idol."

ZEPHANIAH 2 2

The first line in Zeph. 2 2 **בְּטָרִם לָדֶת חֶק בְּמֶנְעַן עֶבֶר יוֹם** is translated by LXX *πρὸ τοῦ γενέσθαι ὑμᾶς ὡς ἄνθρωπος παραπορευόμενον*. It will be noted that in this translation the difficult words **לָדֶת חֶק** are omitted, for *τοῦ γενέσθαι* cannot seriously be regarded as representing an original reading, **לֹא תִהְיֶי** or **תִּהְיֶי**. Evidently the Greek translators did not know what to do with **לָדֶת חֶק** and so translated the text very freely in order to get some good meaning out of it; and, of course, their translation does make sense. But there was another difficulty in the text. They had translated **בְּמֶנְעַן עֶבֶר** by *ὡς ἄνθρωπος παραπορευόμενον* i.e. **בְּצֵעַן עֶבֶר**. There was, however, another word left, **יוֹם**. What should they do with it? Nothing remained but to omit it also. It is evi-

dent that the LXX reading is guesswork and not to be taken into consideration for the reconstruction of the original text.³

The context makes it quite clear that the general meaning must be "Get you shame and be ye ashamed,"⁴ O nation unabashed,⁵ before "it is too late!"⁶ This suggests the reading חק בְּטָרָם בְּלוֹת חק "before the appointed time is at an end!" The only change is in לִדָּת which must be read בְּלוֹת. For חק in the sense of "prescribed limit of time" compare Job 14 5. 13. For the construction of בְּטָרָם with the infinitive compare not only לִדָּת בְּטָרָם but also מְטָרָם אֶבֶן Hag. 2 15.⁷

The following clause בְּמֶזֶן עֵבֶר יוֹם is probably still dependent on בְּטָרָם and to be translated "before the appointed time is at an end, [before] the day has passed as chaff,"⁸ when you might have repented and by repentance averted the doom.

But the simile of flying chaff is used as a rule to illustrate the idea of scattering rather than that of swiftness. And so a suggestion may be made on this clause, with all due reserve, for it is perhaps unnecessary to suspect the Massoretic text. It would seem not unlikely that the text read originally for

בְּמֶזֶן עֵבֶר יוֹם
כִּי מֵאֵן לְעֵבֶר יוֹם

"for the day hastens, urges, to pass by." For the use of the

³ This is a beautiful illustration of the way in which the Greek translators would try to make an untranslatable passage intelligible. It is a very keen guess and certainly brings out in general the meaning that the prophet had intended. We may adopt their guess, if we please, but must not translate the Greek into Hebrew and then think that we have restored the original Hebrew text.

⁴ Reading הִתְקַשְׁשׁוּ וְקִישׁוּ for הִתְבּוֹשְׁשׁוּ וְבוֹשׁוּ with Graetz, Cheyne *et al.*

⁵ "Abashed" is the probable though not certain meaning of נִבְקָה. Was it originally נָקָה *Ni.* בָּפָה, "bowed down, humbled"?

⁶ So also LXX.

⁷ The construction of בְּטָרָם with a noun may also be compared, מִן בְּטָרָם before the harvest, Is. 28 4, בְּטָרָם בֹּקֶר before the morning, Is. 17 14.

⁸ Compare RV.

Hiphil compare Is. 22 4.⁹ The verb expresses the urgent haste; the time presses. Repent, soon it will be too late!

The whole would then read,

Get you shame and be ye ashamed,
O nation unabashed!
Before the appointed time is at an end,
For the day hastens quickly by.
Before there come upon you
The fierce anger of Jahve.

ZEPHANIAH 2 5

The phrase **בְּנֵעַן אֶרֶץ פְּלִשְׁתִּים**, "Canaan, the land of the Philistines," is so unusual that it arouses suspicion, even though the Versions have the same text. Wellhausen, Nowack, Marti, and Fagnani¹⁰ omit **בְּנֵעַן** from the text as secondary. But there must be some explanation for its presence in the text of the Massoretes and of the Versions. Why should somebody have introduced it and incidentally have rearranged the text, transposing "the land of the Philistines" from the end of the verse to its present position?

It is more likely that the text read originally for

**בְּנֵעַן
כִּי יִנְעָה**

"for the land of the Philistines *shall be afflicted*,
and I will destroy thee [originally: it (?)], that there shall
be no inhabitant."

⁹ Possibly the Qal **פָּחַ** was used, though that is not so likely.

¹⁰ C. P. Fagnani, *The Structure of the Text of the Book of Zephaniah* in the Harper Memorial Volumes, II, p. 266.

PROCEEDINGS

DECEMBER, 1907

THE forty-third meeting was held in College Hall, University of Pennsylvania, on Monday and Tuesday, December 30 and 31, 1907. The first session was held at 10.45 A.M., President Ropes being in the Chair. The records of the last meeting were read and approved.

Professor Montgomery reported from the Committee of Arrangements, and invited the Society to lunch at the Houston Club at 1.30. The Treasurer's report and the financial statement of the Recording Secretary were read and referred to an Auditing Committee consisting of Professors Lyon and Bewer, who subsequently reported that the accounts were correct and the vouchers satisfactory. The Chair appointed Professors Bacon, Barton, and Ewell a Committee to nominate officers. At 11 Professor Ropes gave the President's address on "The Epistle to the Hebrews." From 11.55 to 12.40 papers were read and discussed as follows:

By Professor Haupt: "Elegiac Pentameters in the Song of Solomon." By Prof. H. P. Smith: "Notes on the Red Heifer." By Professor Ewell: "Notes on Ps. 16 9-11."

Adjourned for lunch and social hour.

Monday Afternoon, December 30.—Met at 2.40. The Council reported that they had chosen Prof. J. A. Bewer as Corresponding Secretary, and Prof. B. W. Bacon and Rev. W. H. Cobb as additional members of the Publishing Committee. They announced that the next meeting would be held in Columbia University during the Christmas holidays of 1908, the particular time and place to be reported later, and the Committee of Arrangements to consist of Professors

Gottheil, Prince, and Jackson. On nomination by the Council, the following active members were elected :

Prof. John B. Anderson, Colgate University, Hamilton, N.Y.
 Prof. Clayton R. Bowen, Meadville Theol. School, Meadville, Pa.
 Rev. Edward M. Chapman, Old Lyme, Conn.
 Prof. F. L. Day, George Washington University, Washington, D.C.
 Kenneth S. Guthrie, Ph.D., Brooklyn, N.Y.
 Edward A. Henry, Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
 Ivan Lee Holt, 5747 Drexel Ave., Chicago, Ill.
 John Gresham Machen, Ph.D., Princeton Theol. Sem., Princeton, N.J.
 Mrs. Juliet E. O. Munsell, Chestnut Hill, Mass.
 Rev. Harry Le Roy Taylor, Episcopal Divinity School, Cambridge, Mass.
 Rev. Lucius H. Thayer, Portsmouth, N.H.
 Prof. Blanche Zehring, Ph.D., Wells College, Aurora, N.Y.
 Mordecai Bassan, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md.

Professor Barton introduced a resolution relating to Professor Hilprecht, and it was voted that it be referred to the Council to report back to the Society. Professor Bacon gave orally the annual report of the Corresponding Secretary.

From 2.50 to 5.40 papers were read and discussed as follows:

By Professor Barton: "The Composition and Date of Ecclesiastes." By Professor Montgomery: "The Holy City and Gehenna." By Professor Haupt: "Amos 4 2. 3 and 6 9. 10." By Professor Jastrow: "*Rô'eh* and *Hozeh* in the Old Testament." By Professor Barton: "On the reading עֵיִר הַמַּיִם, 2 Sam. 12 27." By Professor Ramsay: "The Progress of Doctrine in Genesis." By Professor Clay: "The Sisiktu."

Adjourned for dinner and social hour.

Monday Evening, December 30. The Society met at 8.10 in the Assembly Hall of the Howard Houston Club. Professor Lyon read the annual report of the Director of the American School at Jerusalem. He then gave an illustrated address on the Samaritan Passover in 1907, on recent discoveries in Samieh, and on some other matters of interest connected with Palestinian researches. Prof. W. Max Müller followed with an illustrated lecture on Egypt and the Bible.

Adjourned at 10.40.

Tuesday Morning, December 31. The Society met at 9.40. From that time until 11 papers were read and discussed as follows:

By T. C. Foote: "The Contemporary Influence of J and E." By W. H. Cobb: "Deutero-Isaiah's Habitat." By Professor Bacon: "The Papias Fragment in the Syriac Eusebius."

At 11 business was taken up. The thanks of the Society were returned to the University of Pennsylvania and to the Committee of Arrangements for the accommodations provided for the meeting and for the ample hospitality extended to the members.

On nomination by the Council, the following active members were elected:

Rev. B. W. Brotherston, No. Conway, N.H.
 Prof. Samuel R. Colladay, Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn.
 Rev. Wm. R. Farmer, 440 Maple Ave., Edgewood Park, Pa.
 Prof. Geo. C. Foley, D.D., 117 South 46th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
 Prof. H. E. W. Fosbrooke, Nashotah House, Nashotah, Wis.
 Prof. Carl E. Grammer, D.D., 1027 Spruce St., Philadelphia, Pa.
 Rev. Julius H. Greenstone, Ph.D., 915 North 8th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
 Prof. Wm. J. Hinke, Ph.D., 28 Court St., Auburn, N.Y.
 Miss Mary I. Hussey, Ph.D., Wellesley College, Mass.
 Prof. Eliza H. Kendrick, Ph.D., Wellesley College, Mass.
 Henry Schaefer, Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
 Prof. Olaf A. Toffteen, Ph.D., 1113 Washington Bvd., Chicago, Ill.

Professor Bacon, from the Nominating Committee, reported the following list of officers, who were then unanimously elected:

Prof. F. C. Porter,	<i>President.</i>
Prof. H. P. Smith,	<i>Vice-President.</i>
Rev. W. H. Cobb,	<i>Recording Secretary.</i>
Prof. J. D. Prince,	<i>Treasurer.</i>
Rev. W. H. Ward,	} <i>Additional Members</i> of the Council.
Rev. J. P. Peters,	
Prof. J. H. Ropes,	
Rev. L. W. Batten,	} <i>To represent the Society</i> on the Board of Management of the Palestine School.
Prof. N. Schmidt,	
Prof. J. A. Montgomery,	

The Council reported back the resolution relating to Professor Hilprecht and recommended its adoption. After

being debated and amended, the resolution was adopted as follows by a vote of 11 to 7, a motion to lay it on the table having been lost by a vote of 10 to 8.

Whereas, Charges reflecting on American Oriental scholarship have been made against Prof. H. V. Hilprecht,

Resolved, That this Society shares the desire expressed by a number of American Orientalists that a complete reply to these charges be made, in the JOURNAL of this Society or elsewhere.

From 12.10 to 12.25 papers and notes were read as follows:

By Professor Barton: "Text and Interpretation of Eccl. 5 19." By Professor Haupt: "The Etymology of *Bôlés*." By Professor Montgomery: "Note on a Coin bearing the Name of Bar RKB bar-Panammu."

Adjourned at 12.25 P.M.

WILLIAM H. COBB,

Recording Secretary.

REPORT
OF
FUNDS IN HANDS OF RECORDING SECRETARY

Receipts

1906.

Dec. 26, Balance from last account \$85 05

1907.

Mar. 4, Professor N. Schmidt, for offprints 16 50

Nov. 23, Mr. R. G. Clapp, for offprints 1 95

Nov. 23, Contributions 35 00

Dec. 27, Sales of Journal for the year 227 90

\$366 40

Disbursements

1907.

Jan. 21, Distributing Journal of 1906, part 2 \$16 00

Jan. 24, Sent Treasurer, on Cushing's bill 35 00

Feb. 18, Berwick & Smith, press-work 69 72

April 8, Sent Treasurer, on Cushing's bill 50 00

July 18, Distributing Journal of 1907, part 1 16 00

Aug. 10, Berwick & Smith, press-work 65 55

Dec. 21, Postage, expressage, and envelopes for the year 12 47

Jan. 2, Thomas Todd, printing notices 4 50

Feb. 2, Thomas Todd, printing circulars 2 35

Nov. 21, Thomas Todd, printing notices and postals 6 25

Dec. 3, Sent Treasurer, contributions 35 00

Dec. 27, Balance in Bank of the Republic, Boston 53 56

\$366 40

Audited, and found correct, Dec. 30, 1907.

DAVID G. LYON, }
JULIUS A. BEWER, } *Auditors.*

ANNUAL REPORT
OF
THE TREASURER OF THE SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE
AND EXEGESIS

December, 1906, to December, 1907

Receipts

1907.		
Jan. 1,	Carried forward	\$ 37 94
	Dues	573 00
	Contributions	79 00
	Initiations	95 00
Jan. 10,	J. D. Prince, purchase of volumes	7 50
Jan. 25,	Journal of Biblical Literature	35 00
Jan. 28,	Barton's Text and Translation Society's dues	5 25
Feb. 4,	R. F. Harper Life Membership	50 00
Feb. 11,	Replacing Harper's fee	50 00
April 9,	By W. H. Cobb	50 00
Nov. 11,	Murkland excess payment	3 00
Total		<u>\$985 69</u>

Disbursements

1907.		
Jan. 25,	Cushing's bill	\$329 60
Jan. 27,	Barton's dues to Text and Translation Society	5 25
Feb. 2,	Columbia janitor	1 00
Feb. 11,	John D. Prince, attempt to invest Harper fund	50 00
Aug. 15,	Cushing's bill	425 95
Nov. 11,	C. S. Murkland, excess payment	3 00
Dec. 4,	W. H. Cobb, repayment of loan	75 00
	Exchange	1 00
Dec. 18,	Cash in hand	94 89
Total		<u>\$985 69</u>

The above Report for 1907 is herewith submitted Dec. 18, 1907.

J. DYNELEY PRINCE, *Treasurer.*

Audited and found correct, Dec. 30, 1907.

DAVID G. LYON, }
JULIUS A. BEWER, } *Auditors.*

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 Prof. H. J. Holtzmann, D.D., Baden.
 Prof. A. Jülicher, D.D., Marburg.
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 Prof. G. A. Smith, D.D., United Free Church College, Glasgow.
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¹ This list has been corrected up to Nov. 26, 1908. Members are requested to notify the Recording Secretary of any change of address.

² The two numbers prefixed to the name of each member indicate the order and date of his accession to membership in the Society.

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 (20) '80 Prof. Francis Brown, D.D., Union Theol. Sem., N.Y. City.
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OF THE
SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND EXEGESIS

(As Amended Dec. 28, 1901)

CONSTITUTION

I

THIS association shall be called "The Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis."

II

The object of the Society shall be to stimulate the critical study of the Scriptures by presenting, discussing, and publishing original papers on Biblical topics.

III

The officers of the Society shall be a President, a Vice-President, a Recording Secretary, a Corresponding Secretary, and a Treasurer, who, with five others, shall be united in a Council. These shall be elected annually by the Society, with the exception of the Corresponding Secretary, who shall be elected annually by the Council. Additional members of the Council shall be the Presidents of the Sections hereinafter provided for. There shall be also a Publishing Committee, consisting of the Corresponding Secretary and two others, who shall be annually chosen by the Council.

IV

Members shall be elected by the Society upon the recommendation of the Council. They may be of two classes, active and honorary. Honorary members shall belong to other nationalities than that of the United States of America, and shall be especially distinguished for their attainments as Biblical scholars. The number of honorary members chosen at the first election shall be not more than ten; in any succeeding year not more than two.

V

The Society shall meet at least once a year, at such time and place as the Council may determine. On the first day of the annual meeting the President, or some other member appointed by the Council for the purpose, shall deliver an address to the Society.

VI

Sections, consisting of all the members of the Society residing in a particular locality, may be organized, with the consent of the Council,

for the object stated in Article II, provided that the number of members composing any Section shall not be less than twelve. Each Section shall annually choose for itself a President, whose duty it shall be to preside over its meeting, and to take care that such papers and notes read before it as the Section may judge to be of sufficient value are transmitted promptly to the Corresponding Secretary of the Society. The Sections shall meet as often as they shall severally determine, provided that their meetings do not interfere with the meetings of the Society.

VII

This constitution may be amended by a vote of the Society, on recommendation of the Council, such amendment having been proposed at a previous meeting, and notice of the same having been sent to the members of the Society.

BY-LAWS

I

It shall be the duty of the President, or, in his absence, of the Vice-President, to preside at all the meetings of the Society; but, in the absence of both these officers, the Society may choose a presiding officer from the members present.

II

It shall be the duty of the Recording Secretary to notify the members, at least two weeks in advance, of each meeting, transmitting to them at the same time the list of papers to be presented at the meeting; to keep a record of the proceedings of such meetings; to preserve an accurate roll of the members; to make an annual report of the condition of the Society; to distribute its publications, and to do such other like things as the Council may request.

III

It shall be the duty of the Corresponding Secretary to conduct the correspondence of the Society, and in particular, to use his best efforts for the securing of suitable papers and notes to be presented to the Society at each meeting; to prepare a list of such papers, and to place it in the hands of the Recording Secretary for transmission to the members; to receive all papers and notes that shall have been presented, and lay them before the Publishing Committee.

IV

It shall be the duty of the Treasurer to take charge of all the funds of the Society, and to invest or disburse them under the direction of the Council, rendering an account of all his transactions to the Society at each annual meeting.

V

It shall be the duty of the Council to propose candidates for membership of the Society; to elect the Corresponding Secretary and the additional members of the Publishing Committee; to fix the times and places for meetings, and generally to supervise the interests of the Society.

VI

It shall be the duty of the Publishing Committee to publish the proceedings of the Society, and also to select, edit, and publish, as far as the funds of the Society will justify, such papers and notes from among those laid before them, as shall in their judgment be fitted to promote Biblical science.

VII

The fee for admission into the Society shall be five dollars, besides which each member shall annually pay a tax of three dollars; but libraries may become members without the fee for admission, from which, also, members permanently residing abroad shall be exempt. The donation at one time, by a single person, of fifty dollars shall exempt the donor from all further payments, and no payments shall be required of honorary members.

VIII

Each member shall be entitled to receive, without additional charge, one copy of each publication of the Society after his election; in addition to which, if he be a contributor to the *Journal*, he shall receive twenty-five copies of any article or articles he may have contributed.

IX

Five members of the Council, of whom not less than three shall have been elected directly by the Society, shall constitute a quorum thereof. Twelve members of the Society shall constitute a quorum thereof for the transaction of business, but a smaller number may continue in session for the purpose of hearing and discussing papers presented.

The following resolution, supplementary to the By-Laws, with reference to the price at which members may procure extra copies of the *Journal*, was adopted June 13th, 1884.

Resolved: That the Secretary be authorized to furnish to members, for the purpose of presentation, additional copies of any volume of the *Journal*, to the number of ten, at the rate of \$1 a copy, but that the price to persons not members be the amount of the annual assessment.

JOURNAL
OF
BIBLICAL
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EDITED BY
JULIUS A. BEWER
BENJAMIN WISNER BACON WILLIAM H. COBB

COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIETY OF
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JOURNAL

OF

BIBLICAL LITERATURE

Volume XXVIII

Part I

1909

The Apocalyptic Chapter of the Synoptic Gospels

BENJ. W. BACON

THE thirteenth chapter of Mark with its parallels in Mt. 24 and Lk. 21 is the crucial factor for the dating of these writings, a vital question for the history of our faith.

Modern gospel criticism claims at least one great admitted result: the dependence of Matthew and Luke upon Mark. Most critics would add also the mutual independence of Matthew and Luke. Both of these having surely employed our Mark, study of their date from internal evidence resolves itself primarily into a study of the composition of this chapter of Mark. Moreover, in any case of divergence by Matthew or Luke from the Markan form the burden of proof will rest upon him who claims priority for the divergent form. *Coincident* divergence from Mark of these *ex hypothesi* independent evangelists, as soon as it passes the degree which can be accounted for by independent modification of the pattern for grammatical, stylistic, or doctrinal reasons, will stand as evidence for the priority of the Matthæo-Lukan form. The unknown source (X) in this case will be antecedent to all three. But what form must we attribute to it? If the divergence is a matter of small details, X will repre-

sent simply an earlier text of Mark than ours. One such common source of Matthew and Luke besides Mark is now generally recognized and designated Q, or the *Logia*. But we are speaking of variations not assignable to Q. It is, of course, possible that even our best text of Mark should here and there present the later reading. Here textual variation can easily account for so minute a difference as the plus of the single word *εὐθέως* in Mt. 24 29. *Εὐθέως* is a typical Markan word, and one which in the context of Mk. 13 24 would be peculiarly exposed to scribal cancellation at an early period, for the same reasons which led Luke at this point (Lk. 21 25) to forsake the Markan form and use widely divergent paraphrase. It is, therefore, very precarious reasoning to argue from this single word, wherein Matthew has not even the support of Luke, for the priority of the Matthæan form of the discourse as a whole. Or again, somewhat more extensive difference might be accounted for without surrender of the general principle of Matthæan and Lukan dependence, by the supposition of a common source employed by all three. But what sort of a common source? One may resort to an *Ur-Markus*, a Logia source (RQ), or a wholly unknown writing (X). Of this third type is the theory resorted to by a very large number of critics, perhaps a majority, to account for the plus of Matthew in 24 20, "Pray that your flight (Mk. "it") be not in winter, *nor on a Sabbath*." This form, like the *εὐθέως* in v. 29, is supposed to be more archaic than the Markan, and the more archaic (?) tinge thus imparted to the Matthæan form of the apocalypse is made part of the argument to support the theory which has enjoyed a period of some forty years' popularity, of a separate "*Flugblatt*," or apocalyptic brochure, incorporated by Mark at this point of his gospel, and supposed to be independently accessible to Matthew, if not to Luke also. This theory has the advantage (?) of relieving Jesus of responsibility for certain utterances more characteristic of those who think that the kingdom comes with observation and cry, Lo, here; lo, there, than of him who declared its nature to be inward. It also appeals romantically to those

who would like to trace a connection with the "revelation" which according to Eusebius "was vouchsafed to approved men among the people of the church in Jerusalem before the war, commanding them to leave the city and to dwell in a certain town of Perea called Pella."¹ But why multiply hypotheses? We have already evidence in other parts of Mark sufficient to prove in the judgment of many critics, including the present writer, the systematic employment of the Q source, that collection of discourses common to Matthew and Luke sometimes identified with the Logia of Papias' Elder. Certain parts of this same chapter give exceptionally strong evidence of dependence upon Q. Surely it is reasonable to look to Q before calling into existence a new source to account for the divergencies of Matthew and Luke from Mark in discourse material. And besides Q we have the Pauline apocalypse of 2 Thess. 2 and Daniel as known sources of Mark before resorting to the unknown. Indeed, the *apokalyptisches Flugblatt* theory has never commended itself to the present writer as either called for by the phenomena of the text, or as probable in itself; at least in the usual form of its enunciation. So then, as possible modes of accounting for exceptional cases of apparent priority in the dependent gospels both textual variation and the theory of an ulterior common document must be admitted to consideration, though the burden of proof must rest on him who appeals to them as exceptions to the general rule.²

It is the object of the present paper to show two things: (1) That the occasion for the *apokalyptisches Flugblatt* theory is either slight or non-existent. (2) That the apoca-

¹ HE, III, v. 3.

² Paul Drews ("Untersuchungen zur Didache" in *Zts. f. ntl. Wiss.* V. 1904, p. 72 f.) presents a modified form of this *apokalyptisches Flugblatt* theory, finding evidence in Δδ. xvi, of the use of a Jewish written form of eschatological teaching common to Δδ. and Mark. Seeberg (*Die Didache des Judentums u. d. Ur-Christenheit*, 1908, c. 8) still further modifies this into an element of the current Jewish and Christian missionary "diatribe" or kerygma. The use of such an element of current kerygma would hardly be any longer distinguishable from dependence on the unwritten conventionalized and stereotyped forms of the current teachings of "judgment to come."

lyptic chapter of the Synoptists is in general structure a composition of our own canonical second Evangelist followed without the use of extraneous sources by Matthew and Luke, and as such affords the means of dating both this and the dependent gospels of Matthew and Luke with reasonable probability.

1. *In general structure the apocalypse of Mk. 13 is the composition of the evangelistic Redactor himself (RQ), in principal dependence on Q, the Pauline Epistles, and the Old Testament.*

Notoriously it is not the general habit of our second evangelist, whom for convenience we may designate "Mark," to compose such discourses of Jesus as appear in Q. The process of agglutination exemplified in Q is carried much further by Matthew than by Luke, though less skilfully. But Mark falls behind both. Nothing save systematic design can explain the extreme disproportion in this Gospel between narrative and discourse material. *Mark is a consistent Paulinist in presenting the person of Christ in preference to his precepts as the essential message of the gospel.*³ The question "What shall I do that I may inherit eternal life?" he answers not by the Sermon on the Mount, but by the example of Jesus as He leads the twelve the way to martyrdom. Yet in two well-known and conspicuous instances, ch. 4 and ch. 13, even Mark has yielded to the growing disposition toward agglutination. The significant feature of both these agglutinations, a feature which at the same time completely explains the exception to Mark's usual practice, is their *eschatological* character. Both discourses, the parables of the Kingdom (ch. 4) and the apocalypse (ch. 13) are esoteric, the former addressed to the inner circle of Jesus' spiritual kin (3 7-35) to the deliberate exclusion of "them that are without" (4 11-12), the latter to the

³ Let the reader simply subtract from Luke and Matthew what they have borrowed from Mark, and note the character of the remainder! He will have then some idea how broad the distinction was, which is attested in the primitive tradition quoted by Papias from "the Elder," between Mark as a gospel of "both sayings and doings," and mere *syntagmata* of the sayings.

still more exclusive circle of the four disciples first called (13 3-4).⁴

Manifestly a Pauline gospel of the *person* of Christ could not stop with the description of how Jesus "humbled himself and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross." It must by still greater necessity proclaim the triumph, the Coming of Jesus in His kingdom. And since within the lifetime of Jesus this could only appear in the form of prophecy, the one exception to Mark's rule of subordinating discourse is that he aims to make unmistakable Jesus' divine assurances of the Coming of the Son of Man in His kingdom, with power and great glory.

But perhaps it may be asked: In what way does the Markan group of Parables evince an eschatological aim? In answering this question we must distinguish between the intrinsic bearing of the parables themselves and the selection, order, and adaptation made by Mark. As Jesus uttered them, the parables would seem to be simple vindications of His preaching of the glad tidings of the kingdom to the publicans and sinners, the '*am ha-areṣ*'. Signs from heaven are not given. True; but God, who makes the mustard plant grow from the tiny seed, can work His greatest work unseen. Tares are in God's field. True; but He is no impatient farmer to thrust in the sickle before the time. Much of His good seed is wasted in the sowing. True; nevertheless the crop is sure. Such is the original bearing of Jesus' teaching. The exordium of the parable of the Mustard Seed and the advancing complexity of the thought from this through that of the Patient Husbandman to that of the Sower, sug-

⁴ Matthew and Luke agree in eliminating this feature. We should not infer that their form is the more original from which Mark has diverged, but conversely. Just as both Matthew and Luke soften the esoteric representation of Mark in ch. 4, so here. When the "little apocalypse" appeared for the first time the need was felt by its author, as in the case of the apocalypses generally, of accounting for its being hitherto unknown (cf. Mk. 9 9). The need is met by the representation of 13 3-4. Of these four disciples three at least had already suffered martyrdom and the fourth (Andrew) was probably long since dead. In the case of Matthew and Luke the need is no longer felt. The apocalypse had already become part of the current tradition of the teaching. Matthew and Luke therefore drop this Markan trait.

gests that if they actually formed a group before Mark, it was in this order. But the purpose to which the evangelist Mark applies his selection of three parables is quite different. First and foremost, the preaching in parables is to him a proof of the Pauline doctrine of *the hardening of Israel*. This is that which Isaiah had spoken against them, "God gave unto them a spirit of stupor, eyes that they should not see and ears that they should not hear." Jesus, he declares, spoke in riddles intelligible only to the inner circle of His spiritual kindred in order that to "those without" it might be fulfilled which was written by the prophet: "Speak unto *this people* that seeing they may see and not perceive, and hearing they may hear and not understand, lest haply they should turn again and be forgiven." The parables for Mark are *a prediction of the fate of unbelieving Israel*. Hence the setting after the Choosing of the Twelve⁵ and Denunciation of the Scribes, and the saying on Spiritual Kindred. Hence also Mark changes the order which originally placed the Mustard Seed first (cf. v. 30) and the Sower last (cf. vv. 10 and 13). Mark puts first the contrast between fruitful and unfruitful soils, because he applies the parable of the Sower to the hardening of Israel, as *Ep. Barn.* applies it, reverting to the direction to Jeremiah, "Sow not upon thorns (the Jews), break up the fallow ground (the Gentiles)." Next in order Mark puts the parable of the Tares—omitting all that related to unworthy adherents⁶ and retaining only the contrast between the time of waiting and the "sending forth of the sickle." Lastly he puts the Mustard Seed, giving it

⁵ Mark has the setting employed by Q for the Sermon on the Mount, viz., the Multitude, Choosing of the Twelve, Ascent into the Mountain, the last quite purposeless, for Jesus simply descends again. He expands this setting, however, by adding from Q the Denunciation of the Blasphemy of the Scribes and the saying on Spiritual Kin, and substitutes the Parables for the Sermon.

⁶ For Matthew the chief point. He even adds (13 36-43) a separate interpretation to make sure of his favorite application against the "workers of lawlessness" (cf. 5 19, 7 21-23, 24 11. 12). The special bearing against Paulinistic antinomians is due to redaction by "Matthew," but the authenticity of the warning against unworthy adherents is guaranteed by parallels such as Mt. 13 47-50, 22 11-14, Lk. 14 25-35. Mark's omission belongs to his Paulinistic *tendenz*.

a Danielic touch at the close in the allusion to the nesting of the birds of heaven in its branches. The sayings which Mark interjects in 4 21-25, winding up with "He that hath (*i.e.*, the Christian community) to him shall be given; and he that hath not (*i.e.*, the Jewish) from him shall be taken away even that which he hath" are also applied eschatologically. They are taken to refer to the Coming of Christ to judgment. The fact that the eschatological sense is forced upon the material by the evangelist, as appears from his changes of wording from the Q form, makes it all the more strikingly characteristic of him. As arranged and applied by Mark, the three parables of the kingdom of God convey to Jesus' kindred after the spirit "the mystery of the kingdom of God," which is hid from his kindred after the flesh. The three contrasts of the fruitful *vs.* the unfruitful soil, the time of growth *vs.* the time of reaping, and the least becoming greatest, express it. To one who looked back after the catastrophe of 70 A.D., the conveyance to the Twelve of this "mystery of the kingdom" would be a strong corroboration of the general contention of the evangelist.

If now we turn to the Eschatological Chapter, distinctively so-called, and consider its general structure, this also will be found to reflect similar aims and interests on the part of this same Pauline, anti-Jewish evangelist (RQ).

To appreciate just the sense our evangelist intends, it is of some importance to note the setting and circumstances he describes. We observe first of all that the chapter concludes a period; in fact it is so placed as to mark the close of Jesus' public ministry. After it follows immediately the story of the betrayal and crucifixion. It forms for its own part the conclusion to the great series of debates in the temple in which Jesus puts to silence successively Pharisee, Sadducee, and Scribe, and after declaring the exaltation of the triumphant Christ by quoting Ps. 110, begins a denunciation of the scribes consisting of a brief extract from the Woes of the Q source. It is true that the touching incident of the Widow's Mite is interjected at this point, without

intelligible logical connection. Apparently it is introduced only *apropos* of the charge that the scribes devour "widows' houses." But the paragraph fails to appear in Matthew, which here follows Mark with extreme closeness, and may therefore be due to interpolation from Luke, with whose "special source" the incident has peculiar affinity. At all events, whether we regard 12 41-44 as textually original or not, the clear connection of the Eschatological Chapter is with the series of debates against the Jews, which begins with Jesus' entry into the temple and expulsion of the traders with the declaration "Is it not written, My house shall be called a house of prayer for all the nations?⁷ but ye have made it a den of robbers." It is "as he was going forth from the temple," so our evangelist reports, and as "his disciples said unto him, Master, behold what manner of stones and what manner of buildings!" that he gave utterance to the prediction on which all the Eschatological Discourse is hung. Jesus, we are told, as he turned his back upon that faithless generation, and took his final departure from their desecrated shrine, predicted its utter overthrow; not the mere burning of the superstructure of porticos and sanctuary, which were consumed against the orders of Titus in the final assault which ended the siege, but the *demolition* of the great "stones" — the massive masonry still visible as one "goes forth" at the gates, some of whose blocks now *in situ* measure 28 feet in length by five or six in height and thickness. This *demolition* was carried out by express order of Titus after the occupation of the fortress, and must have required no small expenditure of both time and labor.⁸

⁷ "For all the nations" is a Markan supplement from Jer. 7 11, Pauline as usual. The parallels have the original antithesis in its purity "a house of prayer," "a den of robbers."

⁸ Josephus, *War*, VII. i. 1. Thus the Eschatological Chapter of the second half of the Gospel shows itself a pendent to the eschatological group of parables in the first half. When the opposition in Galilee has reached its culmination in 36 with the plotting of the Pharisees with the Herodians against Jesus' life, he withdraws, chooses out from the multitude his group of disciples and commits to them the "mystery of the kingdom." Now in Judæa, similarly rejected, he utters to the inner group the detailed prediction of the judgment.

The saying, Mk. 13 1. 2, on the demolition of the temple, I have said, forms the link on which our evangelist has suspended his whole apocalypse. No one will suspect Mark of here resorting to fiction. But have we any adequate reason to regard the saying as other than an adaptation and assimilation to the event of that saying on "destroying the temple" so well attested in Mk. 14 58, 15 29, and Joh. 2 19, and reëchoed throughout the epistolary literature of the New Testament? The object of that saying is not indeed to predict specifically the demolition effected by Titus, but to lift the mind religiously by contrasting the permanence of the "house not built with hands" with the impermanence of even the solid buildings of Herod. Mark himself has left traces in two other contexts of acquaintance with the saying in this form. The saying, "Destroy this temple [built with hands] and in three days I will build another [without hands]" is, in fact, one of the antitheses so characteristic of Jesus' principle of inwardness. The allusions imply that it once stood in the narrative Mark follows. A few Western authorities even add after Mk. 13 2 "and in three days another shall arise without hands," betraying at least the consciousness that the saying must have once stood at this point, if not giving evidence of its actual survival. If then we may regard the prediction of the demolition (not burning) of the temple in Mark 13 2, as simply the evangelist's accommodation and assimilation of this well-known saying to the event, the proceeding will be highly significant of the kind of adaptations we must expect in the discourse introduced by it.

The general structure of the "little apocalypse" appended by Mark to the saying on destroying and rebuilding the temple is the conventional threefold division of the apocalypses generally.⁹ Paragraph *a* beginning after the *mise en scène* in the question of the four intimates on the Mount of Olives of vv. 3-4, is self-designated "The Beginning of Travail." It includes vv. 5-8. Even advocates of the *apokalyptisches Flugblatt* theory admit that vv. 9-13,

⁹ See Drew, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

appended to this paragraph after the summary ἀρχὴ ὁδίνων ταῦτα, must be regarded as the evangelist's supplement. They consist of two elements: (1) In vv. 9-11 a prediction of persecution and promise of the Holy Spirit as Paraclete or Advocate before *earthly* tribunals, substantially identical with the Q saying in Mt. 10 17-22. 34-36 = Lk. 12 11. 12. 51. 53 = Joh. 16 1-13.¹⁰ (2) In vv. 12, 13, a warning of discord in the family and promise of salvation for him who endures to the end, of O. T. origin. V. 12 is taken from Mic. 7 6; v. 13 is paralleled in 2 Esdr. 6 25.¹¹ R's hand is easily traceable in the first addition (vv. 9-11) in the adaptation of the saying by the words "ye shall stand before governors and kings" to the actual experience of Paul,¹² and in the addition in v. 10 of the warning that "the gospel must first be preached to all nations," another Pauline trait.¹³ The second addition (vv. 12, 13) is itself characteristic. In the social anarchy of his own time, specifically perhaps the persecutions and the delatores, R sees the day of Jerusalem's "visitation" as described by Micah: "The godly man is perished out of the earth, and there is none upright among men, they hunt every man his brother with a net. . . . The son dishonoreth the father, the daughter riseth up against her mother, the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law; a man's enemies are the men of his own house." It is a kind of apocalyptic obverse to the Elijan turning of the hearts of fathers to children and children to fathers. V. 13 a re-

¹⁰ The Q parallels appear in these earlier apocalyptic sections of Matthew and Luke. The same sayings reappear a *second time* in the adaptation of the Markan apocalypse made by these later evangelists in chapters 24 and 21 of Matthew and Luke respectively. However, the Markan form is sometimes found in the Q context and conversely.

¹¹ While 2 Esdras is probably about a decade later than Mark, dependence on a Christian writing by this profoundly Jewish author is of course insupposable. The coincidences must be explained either by connection with a common root of conventional eschatology, or by later Christian interpolation. The fact that 2 Esdr. 6 25 reproduces Mk. 13 13 b in the connection of vv. 12, 13 a = 2 Esdr. 6 24 suggests Christian interpolation.

¹² Compare Acts 22-28 and the similar adjustment in Mk. 6 29, and contrast the Q form.

¹³ Rom. 11 25.

peats the prediction of persecution of v. 9, even employing the formula *διὰ τὸ ὄνομα μου*. Matthew gives it twice (Mt. 10 22 = 24 9), but we need hardly seek a special source for it. V. 13 b is equally undistinctive. Its ultimate source is doubtless Dan. 11 35, 40; 12 4. 9. 12. 13. But we find this general promise of salvation to those who "endure to the end" repeated in every apocalypse, whether Jewish or Christian. It is no more distinctive here than in James 1 12, or Rev. 13 10, or 2 Esdr. 6 25, but is a commonplace of every encouragement in time of persecution or suffering. In Mt. 10 22 we have it in a Q context, but in Markan form. In 24 13 it is repeated. In Lk. 21 19 conversely the context is Markan, but the form of the saying is independent, reminding us rather of Heb. 10 36. 39. The fact that Matthew has preferred the Markan form in both contexts (Mt. 10 21. 22 = 24 9-13) is all that stands in the way of our assigning it to Q. There is nothing in paragraph *a*, accordingly, outside vv. 5-9 a, which requires the assumption of an external source. If there is occasion in this first portion of the apocalyptic discourse of Mark for the *Flugblatt* theory, it must be found in vv. 5-9 a. These verses we reserve for later consideration.

b. In vv. 14-23 we have the second paragraph of the apocalypse, from which, however, it is customary to deduct vv. 21-23 as the evangelist's addition. The preceding verses (14-20) have been well described as containing the Culmination of Woes. Such is the rôle our evangelist probably intends for them, though he himself refers to the situation described simply as "that Tribulation" (v. 24). The technical terminology of apocalypse would probably describe it as the *הַבְּלִי הַמְּשִׁיחִי* or "Birthpangs of Messiah," a phrase probably familiar to Mark, since in v. 9 he employs its Greek equivalent *ἀρχὴ ὠδίνων*, "beginning of the birthpangs."¹⁴ The difference between this "great tribulation" and the convulsions of nature and of peoples in vv. 7-8 is that while

¹⁴ In Acts 2 24 there seems to be a confusion between *הַבְּלִי* and *הַבְּלִי* in Ps. 18 5. The "birthpangs" (*חבלים*) of Messiah are the "cords" (*חבלים*) of death.

those were general and world-wide, this is specific and local. It falls upon "those that are in Judæa." But even after deduction of vv. 21-23 there remains a recognizable admixture of material alien to the context and derivable from the sayings. The warning introduced in vv. 15-16 is found in Luke in the Q context (Lk. 17 31. 32). There, however, it is not so much a warning to swift and unimpeded flight, as a warning not to think of earthly goods, as did Lot's wife when the judgment fell upon the cities of the Plain. Here as a warning to instant escape it is visibly out of place and inappropriate, since not the unescapable judgment of God is in question, but merely the horrors of terrestrial war, which after all left time enough to descend from the housetop, or to return from the field for a garment. Moreover, the exclusion of vv. 15. 16 leaves the connection of v. 14 with vv. 17 ff. better than before. We may therefore probably eliminate vv. 15, 16 from consideration, as an addition from Q. Indeed, it is only vv. 14. 17-20 which are commonly reckoned to the *Flugblatt*. Vv. 21-23 are generally admitted to be the evangelist's supplement; for, as already noted, they simply repeat the warning of vv. 5. 6 against the $\pi\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta$; and this, as we saw, is found twice in the dependent Gospels, once in the Q context (Mt. 24 26. 27 = Lk. 17 23-25), a second time in another (Mt. 24 23-25 = Lk. 17 20-22). Matthew characteristically interjects three verses (24 10-12) in his first employment of the saying, to give it specific bearing against the antinomian heresiarchs. Mark shows his idea of its application by appending vv. 22. 23, which accommodate the saying to a sense agreeable to 2 Thess. 2 9. Warning against the false miracles of Antichrist is one of the commonplaces of the Antichrist legend,¹⁵ and forms a stereotyped element of Pauline eschatology (2 Thess. 2 9 1 Tim. 4 1 2 Tim. 3 8; cf. Rev. 13 13-15). The fact that Mark applies the saying of Jesus against the observers of portents is not a reason for postulating an extraneous source. In paragraph *b* we have left, accordingly, as possible *Flugblatt* material only the warning to "those in Judæa" to flee to the mountains when

¹⁵ Cf. Rev. 13 13-15.

they see the Danielic "abomination of desolation," together with the description of the "great tribulation" in vv. 17-20. These we may take up later for a little closer scrutiny as regards their origin.

c. There remains the third and final paragraph of the alleged *Flugblatt*, vv. 24-27, a typical and characteristic description of the Parousia, or Coming of the Son of man, after the Danielic pattern. The "parable of the fig tree" which follows, with the saying on not knowing the day or hour and the exhortation to Watch, attached to a confused mixture of the parable of the Steward with that of the Talents, are too manifestly adaptations of sayings independently known from Q, to be classed as belonging to the *apokalyptisches Flugblatt*.

There remains accordingly, by general consent, a very compact, three-fold discourse, which, if anything in Mark, must represent the supposed "leaflet," literally a "leaflet"; for the three paragraphs of four, five, and four verses respectively (vv. 5-8; 14. 17-20; 24-27) could easily be written on the obverse and reverse of a single papyrus leaf of the usual size.

Let us take the most recent, and, as it seems to me, least improbable form of the *Flugblatt* theory,¹⁶ and assume that we have here not an entire independent publication (for the matter is too brief and too commonplace to warrant independent publication), but simply Mark's excerpt of the eschatological ending of some didactic writing like the apocalyptic eschatological chap. xvi. of the *Didaché*. On this assumption we have a right to demand that the composition shall show an individuality of its own, distinguishable from the Markan context, especially if it be, as many maintain, of Jewish and not of Christian origin. It would not have been composed if its author had not had something to say, something outside the stereotyped commonplaces of Jewish-Christian apocalypses in general, something more than *vaticinia ex eventu* reflecting eastern history in 44 to 74 A.D., something besides the salient ideas of Pauline apocalypse, something besides sayings

¹⁶ See note 2, p. 3.

of Jesus and O. T. "prophecies." No new authorship need be sought for such, for all these are simply the ordinary material Mark elsewhere depends on. If nothing remains after careful analysis save material of this sort, we shall not be justified in departing from the known into the domain of conjecture. We shall grant of course that Mark is here departing from his usual rule of not reporting discourse; but not to a greater extent than in the corresponding chapter of the Galilean half of his Gospel, and with an analogous purpose and dependence on similar materials.

It will be worth our while, before we attempt to determine the question of sources, to glance at the elements thus set aside as constituting the *Flugblatt* material. They are not too long to print in full:

α^{5b} Βλέπετε μή τις ὑμᾶς πλανήσῃ · ⁶ πολλοὶ ἐλεύσονται ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματί μου λέγοντες ὅτι Ἐγὼ εἰμι, καὶ πολλοὺς πλανήσουσιν. ⁷ ὅταν δὲ ἀκούσῃτε πολέμους καὶ ἀκοὰς πολέμων, μὴ θροεῖσθε · δεῖ γενέσθαι, ἀλλ' οὕτω τὸ τέλος ⁸ ἐγγεθήσεται γὰρ ἔθνος ἐπ' ἔθνος καὶ βασιλεία ἐπὶ βασιλείαν, ἔσονται σεισμοὶ κατὰ τόπους, ἔσονται λιμοί · ⁹ ἀρχὴ ὧδίνων ταῦτα.

β¹⁴ Ὅταν δὲ ἴδῃτε τὸ βδελυγμὰ τῆς ἐρημώσεως ἐστηκότα ὅπου οὐ δεῖ, ὁ ἀναγινώσκων νοεῖτω, τότε οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ φευγέτωσαν εἰς τὰ ὄρη. ¹⁷ οὐαὶ δὲ ταῖς ἐν γαστρὶ ἐχοῦσαις καὶ ταῖς θηλαζούσαις ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις. ¹⁸ προσεύχεσθε δὲ ἵνα μὴ γένηται χειμῶνος · ¹⁹ ἔσονται γὰρ αἱ ἡμέραι ἐκείναι θλίψεις, οἷα οὐ γέγονεν τοιαύτη ἀπ' ἀρχῆς κτίσεως ἣν ἔκτισεν ὁ θεὸς ἕως τοῦ νῦν καὶ οὐ μὴ γένηται. ²⁰ καὶ εἰ μὴ ἐκολόβωσεν κύριος τὰς ἡμέρας, οὐκ ἂν ἐσώθη πᾶσα σὰρξ · ἀλλὰ διὰ τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς οὓς ἐξελέξατο ἐκολόβωσεν τὰς ἡμέρας.

γ²⁴ Ἀλλὰ ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις μετὰ τὴν θλίψιν ἐκείνην ὁ ἥλιος σκοτισθήσεται, καὶ ἡ σελήνη οὐ δώσει τὸ φέγγος αὐτῆς, ²⁵ καὶ οἱ ἀστέρες ἔσονται ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πίπτοντες, καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις αἱ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς σαλευθήσονται. ²⁶ καὶ τότε ὄψονται τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενον ἐν νεφέλαις μετὰ δυνάμεως πολλῆς καὶ δόξης. ²⁷ καὶ τότε ἀποστελεῖ τοὺς ἀγγέλους καὶ ἐπισυνάξει τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς [αὐτοῦ] ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων ἀπ' ἄκρου γῆς ἕως ἄκρου οὐρανοῦ.

I have reprinted the verses from the text of Nestle's edition, just as it stands, using the same heavy-faced type for material taken from the LXX, that we may see at a glance just how much more is to be deducted from our small remainder of material of unknown derivation on the score of O. T. extracts. Nestle's margin gives Is. 19 2 and 2 Chr. 15 6 as sources of the extracts in vv. 7. 8; Dan. 9 27

and 12 4. 10 as sources of the reference to "the abomination of desolation" in v. 14; Dan. 12 1 and Joel 2 2 for the phrases in v. 19; Is. 13 10 and 34 4 for the description of the sidereal catastrophes of vv. 24-25; Dan. 7 13 for the coming of the Son of man on clouds, and Zech. 2 6 with Dt. 30 4 for the gathering of the elect from the four world regions. These are not verbatim extracts, but any one who compares the references will see that they are quite sufficient to account for the predictions covered, when the freedom of Mark in using the O. T. in modifying or supplementing sayings of Jesus is considered.¹⁷

Space would not permit the reprinting of the parallel sections of Matthew and Luke, but a comparison of any of the synopticons of Wright, Huck, or Hennecke will show that the coincident Matthæo-Lukan variations are here at a minimum. The parallels each add a γάρ after πολλοί in v. 6 and δεῖ in v. 7, and a μεγάλη after θλίψις in v. 19. Both correct the Semiticism ἤρξατο λέγειν in v. 5, but in different ways. Both have δυνάμεις τῶν οὐρανῶν as in LXX (Is. 34 4) instead of δυνάμεις αἱ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς in v. 25, and καὶ δόξης πολλῆς instead of πολλῆς καὶ δόξης in v. 26. The proportion of coincident Matthæo-Lukan variation is on the whole somewhat less than in other parts of Mark, and not less explicable than elsewhere without recourse to theories of separate literary relation direct or indirect between Matthew and Luke.

As regards the important clause beginning v. 24, Ἀλλὰ ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις, both parallels have altered Mark. Luke introduces before it the captivity of Israel and period of Jerusalem's being trodden down of the Gentiles. Matthew also effects a transformation in which the famous added εὐθέως is only one feature. Granting that our text represents the original Mark, we must leave it to the judgment of others whether in reducing the two clauses, ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις, μετὰ τὴν θλίψιν ἐκείνην, to the single clause εὐθέως μετὰ τὴν θλίψιν τῶν ἡμερῶν ἐκείνων Matthew was merely making one of his common stylistic improvements, without

¹⁷ Cf. e.g. Mk. 4 12, 7 6, 7, 12 10, 11, etc. Mark is full of LXX words and phrases, although he does not make so many formal citations as Matthew.

intentional change of meaning, or whether he was purposely altering the sense in favor of an earlier date for the parousia. If the latter, was he moved by loyalty to some apocalyptic writing whose authority outweighed for him the authority of Mark, or does the *εὐθέως* simply reflect his own warmer anticipations and brighter apocalyptic hopes? Both may be true; but as long as we have a known direct dependence on Daniel by Matthew in addition to his indirect dependence through Mark, it is illogical to posit an unknown *apokalyptisches Flugblatt* until we have decided in what light Matthew would view Dan. 12 11-13. It is certainly not inconceivable that his correcter interpretation of the abomination of desolation as an inanimate object (*ἑστός*) "standing in a holy place," should carry with it the *εὐθέως*, in consequence of this definite Danielic limitation of "the time of the end" to 1335 days after.

Turning to the purely internal evidence of the Markan apocalypse itself, what indications have we of derived material? The keynote of the composition as a whole is struck at once in paragraph *a* (vv. 5-8) called "The Beginning of Travail." It is this: *Μὴ θροεῖσθε*, "Be not agitated." The command and its application are taken verbatim from 2 Thess. 2 1-10. As in Thessalonica, so among Mark's readers many were "disturbed" seeing the wrath come upon the Jews "unto the uttermost," "as though the Coming of the Lord were immediately impending." The question of the four disciples, "When shall these things (the demolition of the temple) be? and what shall be the sign when these things are all about to be accomplished?" is so framed as to leave no doubt of the writer's object.¹⁸ Apocalyptic enthusiasm, so sure to be kindled by the startling events of 63-70 A.D., is to be quieted and restrained by the reported prophecy of Jesus. The motive, the very words, of this central exhortation, as we have seen, are Pauline to the core. But the

¹⁸ "All these things" in v. 4 must not be interpreted as in the case of writers who avoid illogical prolepsis. In Mark it is constant. He has in mind already in v. 4 the phenomena about to be described in the ensuing discourse, and not merely the *κρίμα* that is coming on the scribes (12 40) and the overthrow of the temple (13 2).

material basis is neither Pauline nor Mark's own. As already shown, it is a genuine Q saying repeated in more distinctive form at the end of paragraph *b* (vv. 21-23), and adapted by Matthew after his own peculiar fashion in 24 10-12. Here it is a warning against the false leaders called γόητες by Josephus, of whom the troublous times in 44-70 A.D. brought forth an ever-increasing, ever-wilder multitude. In Matthew it is a warning against antinomian *teachers* in the Church. No possible date assignable to the Gospel of Mark could fail to afford abundant occasion for making this immediate application of the sober teaching of Jesus and Paul. Hence vv. 7, 8 adduce nothing whatever beyond the application to be expected of a Pauline evangelist of 65-75 A.D. Jesus had spoken of the πλάνη (so at least Mark thinks) in saying, "Beware of those who say, Lo, here is the Christ, lo there." Paul had said, "Be not agitated, whether by saying (of the Lord), or by (apocalyptic) spirit, or by epistle as from us, as though the parousia were immediately impending." The ἀποστασία must first come. Mark adds as a confirmatory Scripture the passage Is. 19 2, with prefatory γάρ. The (Parthian?) wars and rumors of war, the uprisings of 66-70 A.D., the earthquakes at Laodicea and elsewhere, the famines (in the days of Claudius) he would have his readers understand are no more than general premonitory symptoms. The "agitators," the γόητες, will tell you, "This is 'the end.'"¹⁹ These are the tokens of the Coming." It is not so. "The end is not yet." These political, social, and subterranean convulsions are only the ἀρχὴ ὧδίνων. The γόητες themselves are what should be expected among these premonitory symptoms, for the πλάνη and the ἀποστασία are surely to come according to Jesus and Paul. Therefore take heed not to be misled by them (μή τις ὑμᾶς πλανήσῃ). The true signs of the end are the shaking not of earth but of heaven also.²⁰ This is the

¹⁹ Dan. 12 13.

²⁰ Heb. 12 26, 27. Cf. Rev. 12 7-12 and Lk. 10 18, 19. Spitta has shown, *Zur Gesch. u. Lit. d. Urchr.* III. 2 (1907), p. 187 f., that Satan's fall in fire from heaven is to be understood as a special peril to be resisted by the "authority" given to the disciples in v. 19.

proper feature of paragraph *c*. The true signs of the Coming are superterrestrial, because the war which precedes the Coming in triumph is a war in heaven, "not against flesh and blood, but against the spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places."²¹

The phrase ἀρχὴ ὀδίνων is doubtless a current phrase of apocalypse. But who will contend that a special document must be postulated to account for this? And what greater need is there for postulating a written source to account for the enumeration by a writer of *ca.* 70 A.D. of the physical, social, and political convulsions of the preceding forty years in O. T. phraseology as war, earthquake, and famine? Must Mark have a written source in order to tell his readers that these things are not the immediate precursors of "the end" as "agitators" declare? But apart from the Q sayings appended in vv. 9-13 to show that the period of evangelization and persecution throughout the world must first take place, paragraph *a* has nothing else to suggest a written source.

b. But surely, it will be answered, paragraph *b* is centred upon a distinctively novel and characteristic feature, derived neither from Jesus nor from Paul, the expectation of "the abomination of desolation" spoken of by Daniel the prophet "standing where he ought not."

If, then, this be something quite independent of the Pauline apocalypse which we have seen to dominate paragraph *a*, why have we the curious application of a masculine participle (ἐστώς) to the predicted sign, when the Danielic original manifestly refers not to a person but to a thing? Matthew sees this plainly enough and conforms, after his wont, to the O. T. original, though he is careful to say "standing in a holy place," not "in the holy place" whose destruction had placed it forever beyond the reach of the dreaded profanation. This phenomenon in Mark of the change of gender cannot easily be explained without reference to 2 Thess. 2 3-10, and its reference to "the man of sin who exalteth himself against all that is called God, so that he sitteth in the temple of God, setting himself forth as God." In Paul this is a pal-

²¹ Eph. 6 12.

pable application of Dan. 11 36-37. Mark too regards the "mystery of iniquity" as a personal being. Only "he" does not stand "in the temple of God," but indefinitely "where he ought not." The evidence of the use of this same Pauline chapter in the reference of paragraph *a* to the *πλάνη* of the last times and its warning, "*μὴ θροεῖσθε*," makes it doubly apparent that Mark is interpreting Danielic in the light of Pauline apocalypse. His pointed avoidance of the Pauline application to the temple is profoundly significant. The version of Matthew, with its stricter conformation to the O. T. letter, makes the motive more transparent. Mark wrote after the destruction of the temple had to all appearance made the prophecy of Paul forever impossible of fulfilment. By simply correlating Paul's doctrine of the Antichrist with Dan. 12 11, Mark now obtains a sense which to him, and to the reader whose penetration into this mystery of "scripture" he solicits, is completely satisfactory. The "abomination of desolation" spoken of by Daniel the prophet was not, as had so long been supposed, the idolatrous object erected in the holy place; *ὁ ἀναγινώσκων νοεῖτω*. Let readers of the prophet take a deeper view.²² It refers to a personal being (*ἑστηκότα*), standing in the place which rightfully belongs to Another. This could be learned from Paul. However, the temple would not be, as both Daniel and Paul had assumed, the place of his manifestation. His coming would simply be "where he ought not."

Just what devastating personality Mark did refer to, human or superhuman, is not clear to the modern reader. Only two things are certain: (*a*) That the phenomenon concerns "those that are in Judæa", (*b*) that at the time of writing the temple was no longer available as the scene, whether of Paul's manifestation of the "man of sin," or of the Danielic "abomination of desolation." The substitution of "where he ought not" for *ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερόν* of Dan. 9 27 (LXX), and *εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ* of 2 Thess. 2 4, shows that Mark is attempting to combine the two factors, the Danielic and the Pauline prediction, in the light of actual occurrences.

²² The exhortation also shows the influence of Daniel; cf. Dan. 12 10 b.

What then of his warning to "those that are in Judæa" to "flee to the mountains"? This is quite *ex post facto* as a matter of practical advice to a church which had already endured the catastrophe; but it is far from unavailing for the real purpose of Mark, which is (like that of Daniel and the apocalyptists generally) to give courage and confidence to obey his ultimate exhortation, in the light of predictions which appear to be already fulfilled. So far from having anything to do with the revelation which, as Eusebius reports, induced the church to flee to Pella, Mark has seemingly in mind flight to the dens and caves of southeastern Judæa, the immemorial resort of refugees from Jerusalem.²³ Pella lies below sea-level, on the slopes of the Jordan valley. The flight from Jerusalem (embellished, as we have seen, by a Q extract in vv. 15-16) and its hardships form the subject of the rest of paragraph *b*. The horrors of "Judæa" in 68-70 A.D. are reflected in it; but certainly the correspondence of these to what Mark read in Dan. 11 31-35 is reflected in it no less. To begin with v. 19, the very phraseology of his description of the "tribulation" of "them that are in Judæa" (he himself is elsewhere) is taken from Dan. 12 1. But take the LXX rendering of Dan. 11 31-35, the second of the two passages on the "abomination of desolations" and see if it is possible to conceive a Christian writer within the period to which Mark is assigned on any critical theory, who should *not* take into account this context in connection with the "tribulation" he was witnessing:

³¹ καὶ σπέρματα ἐξ αὐτοῦ (the king of the north) ἀναστήσονται καὶ βεβηλώσουσι τὸ ἅγιον τῆς δυναστείας, καὶ μεταστήσουσι τὸν ἐνδελεχισμόν, καὶ δώσουσι βδέλυγμα ἡφανισμένον, ³² καὶ οἱ ἀνομούντες διαθήκην ἐπάξουσιν ἐν ὀλισθήμασι. καὶ λαὸς γινώσκοντες θεὸν αὐτοῦ κατισχύσουσι καὶ ποιήσουσι, ³³ καὶ οἱ συνετοὶ τοῦ λαοῦ συνήσουσιν εἰς πολλά, καὶ ἀσθενήσουσιν ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ καὶ ἐν φλογὶ καὶ ἐν αἰχμαλωσίᾳ καὶ ἐν διαρπαγῇ ἡμέρων. ³⁴ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀσθενῆσαι αὐτοὺς βοηθήσονται βοήθειαν μικράν, καὶ προστεθήσονται πρὸς αὐτοὺς πολλοὶ ἐν ὀλισθήμασι. ³⁵ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν συνιέντων ἀσθενήσουσι τοῦ πυρῶσαι αὐτοὺς καὶ τοῦ ἐκλέεσθαι καὶ τοῦ ἀποκαλυφθῆναι ὥς καιροῦ πέρας, ὅτι ἔτι εἰς καιρόν.

²³ Cf. Heb. 11 37, 38, referring to the hardships of the followers of the Maccabees.

To those who have observed the habit of our Mark to adapt *logia*, particularly *logia* known to us through Luke,²⁴ to his pragmatic purpose there will be nothing surprising in the suggestion that the woe of v. 17 upon child-bearing and nursing women "in those days," is nothing more than such an adaptation of the saying, "Weep not for me, ye daughters of Jerusalem, but weep for the things which are coming upon yourselves" (viz. in the destruction of Jerusalem) in Lk. 23 27-31. V. 18 reflects a sense of the fearful hardships undergone in the dens and caves of the wilderness of Judæa during the awful winter of 69-70 A.D. Matthew adds the explanatory ἡ φυγὴ ὑμῶν, and supplements with μηδὲ σαββάτω, which seems natural after the intercalated *logion* in vv. 15. 16, but is not Mark's meaning, and is the reverse of a trait of originality. That which would be specially hard to endure in winter (not "on a sabbath") is not the flight, but the period of homeless wandering. The reason given in v. 19 is the hardships of "those days," described, as already noted, in the language of Dan. 12 1. Only because of his introduction of the wrong subject (ἡ φυγὴ ὑμῶν) does Matthew's μηδὲ σαββάτω have room.

Lastly, Mark introduces in v. 20 the singular conception of the cutting short (κολόβωσις) of the days of Messiah's coming. This is doubtless related to the divisions of times in Daniel, the ultimate basis of all apocalyptic calculations of "the end"; but it belongs particularly, as I have shown elsewhere,²⁵ to the Enoch literature,²⁶ and is probably based on the Septuagint rendering of Ps. 102 23. The ultimate result, as in paragraph *a*, is that nothing whatever remains in vv. 14-23 for which there is the slightest occasion to seek a written source in an *apokalyptisches Flugblatt*.

But let us turn to paragraph *c*. This is a purely conventional description of the Coming, based on Is. 13 10; Dan. 7 13; Dt. 30 4; Zech. 2 6. If there is anything beyond these

²⁴ E.g. the parable of the Barren Fig Tree (Lk. 13 6-9) in the incident of the cursing of the fig tree in Mk. 11.

²⁵ *Zts. f. ntl. Wiss.* III. 4 (1902), pp. 280 ff.

²⁶ *Ep. of Barn.* 4 s.

stereotyped forms, it is the trait of the shaking of "the powers in the heavens,"²⁷ and the "gathering together of the elect," both of which are characteristically Pauline (1 Cor. 15 25-27; 1 Thess. 1 10; 3 13; 4 16; 2 Thess. 1 7; 21. etc.). The evangelist tells us (v. 24) that this universally expected and traditionally well defined and conventionalized event is to occur "in those days," and more closely defines his meaning by adding, "after that tribulation." Remembering that "that tribulation" is to his mind the one spoken of by Daniel the prophet, as introduced by the appearance of "the abomination of desolation," we should surely turn to "Daniel the prophet" if we wish to know his thought regarding its termination in "the end" which was still expected. Much has been said regarding the contrast of Matthew's *εὐθέως μετὰ τὴν θλίψιν τῶν ἡμερῶν ἐκείνων* with Mark's *ἀλλὰ ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις μετὰ τὴν θλίψιν ἐκείνην*. We have endeavored above to point out how precarious is the endeavor to rest a case for the priority of Matthæan form on this single change of expression. It may be intended for nothing more than an improvement in style. But granting that the insertion of *εὐθέως* does imply in Matthew a different and more immediate expectation of the end than in Mark, what are we to infer from this? In general we may infer that even the later of the two writings—and present day criticism is almost unanimous in declaring this to be canonical Matthew—comes from a period not too long after "that tribulation" to enable the author (or compiler) to still express the hope that the coming will be "immediately" thereafter. But we must also ask more specifically, How is the extent of this "immediately" to be measured? There is but one mode of determination. We must judge by the basis on which the author rests his prediction. In Mark this basis is plain enough; he has his eye on the distresses in Palestine in 68-70 A.D. In Matthew it is not so plain. He has his eye, as elsewhere, primarily on O. T. scripture. We must go to "Daniel the prophet," if we would know precisely what he meant. Both evangel-

²⁷ See note 21.

ists are presenting what they understand to be the teaching of Jesus and of Paul regarding the "time of the end" spoken of by Daniel the prophet, and are interpreting it in the light of their own recent experience. Therefore it is not so much the difference of three or four years more or less in the delay already experienced between the "great tribulation" and the parousia, which will affect their mode of presenting "the promise of his coming." It will be rather a difference in their mode of interpreting the promise of blessing at the end of 1335 days "from the time that the abomination of desolation is set up," in Dan. 12 11-13. Until we know what Mark understood by his personal "abomination of desolation," and Matthew by his impersonal object of like designation, and how each counted the Danielic 1290 and 1335 days, we have no trustworthy explanation of the phrases employed by each regarding the nearness of "the end." A further word on this point may be admitted later.

It is superfluous to show that no written source other than the stereotyped features of O. T. prophecy already cited, the Q saying on the lightning-like suddenness and universal visibility of the Coming (Mt. 24 27 = Lk. 17 24), and the teachings of Paul, are required to account for Mark's description of the Coming of the Son of man with clouds and the "gathering together of the elect." Even more manifestly than in the case of paragraphs *a* and *b*, which have really something specific and distinctive, would it be absurd to postulate a further written basis for paragraph *c*.

If, then, we have, as would thus appear, not an incorporated document of unknown origin in the apocalyptic chapter of Mark, but the editorial adaptation of certain well-known Pauline and evangelic material, after the manner and with the motives elsewhere exemplified on the basis of O. T. scripture, the results for the dating of Mark, and consequently of the dependent Gospels of Matthew and Luke, will prove of immense significance and value. Let us pass, therefore, without further delay to our second proposition.

(2) *The compiler of canonical Mark, who has constructed his apocalyptic chapter from Pauline, evangelic, and Old Testament*

data, shapes his construction with reference to the occurrences of 66 to 70 A.D., and therefore writes not earlier than 70-71, nor later than about 75 A.D.

The most convincing evidence for this proposition is a simple comparison of the Q eschatological complexes with the Markan. The fundamental distinction is this: In the Q sayings there is never any forecasting of particular historical events, such as "the great tribulation to them that are in Judæa," the appearance of "the abomination of desolation," or the like; nor is there the slightest attempt to connect the coming Day of the Lord with the overthrow of Jerusalem or the temple. Jesus simply preaches repentance, lest a fate like that threatened against Nineveh, Tyre and Sidon, Sodom and Gomorrah, overtake an unheeding generation. The interest is simply ethical, not apologetic. It is Mark who transforms Jesus into the miraculous forecaster of the future, and Luke and canonical Matthew who carry the transformation further. The entire construction and motive of the "little apocalypse," from its connection, by means of a saying specially accommodated to make it appear to have been uttered *apropos* of a prediction of the *demolition* of the temple, to its interweaving of Danielic and Pauline apocalypse with sayings of Jesus anent the superterrestrial and incalculable nature of the Day of the Son of man, are apologetic in interest, aiming to prove Jesus' foresight of accomplished fact. They point to the period immediately after 70 A.D. as the time of its origin. In particular the accommodation of the language of Paul and of Daniel in v. 14, so as to permit of application of the prediction in some other way than to the temple, confirms the date suggested by v. 2. Moreover, the urgent endeavor to quiet messianistic enthusiasm and to insist that "the end is not yet," that wars, famines, earthquakes, even "the great tribulation to them that are in Judæa" are only precursors, not immediate signs, of the Coming, leads only to the same results; for we have many indications in Josephus and some in the fragments of Hegesippus, that the period from 63 to 70 A.D. was one wherein "many were led astray"; some "even of the elect."

Mark makes the contrast as conspicuous as possible between earthly portents, which merely belong to the period of patient endurance of persecution while the gospel is being "preached to all the nations," and signs "*in the heavens*." Still, that he may not be too discouraging, Mark adds, after this warning that "the end" will not be until "the powers that are in the heavens are shaken," the consoling parable of the Fig Tree, and the assurance that "this generation shall not pass away until all these things be accomplished." This and the urgent exhortation to hourly watchfulness prove that even if the Matthaean *εὐθέως* be rightly wanting in v. 24, the sense is not materially different. Mark, as well as Matthew, lives in momentary expectation of the end. Both endeavor to apply the Danielic forecast of "the end" to their own times, Mark with greater dependence on Paul, Matthew with closer relation to the O. T. Mark obeys and echoes the Pauline injunction, "Be not agitated," and insists that "first must the gospel be preached to all the Gentiles"; yet his own limit for "the end" is only a few years after the demolition of the temple. Matthew expects it "immediately" after "that tribulation"; but realizing how intent he is upon the letter of scripture rather than the specific occurrences of his own time, we may well question whether "that tribulation" means precisely the same to him that it does to Mark, and does not include also the *θλίψις* of vv. 9-13. Certainly Dan. 11 31-37 could not fail to suggest a period of persecution *after* the profanation of the sanctuary, accompanied by a manifestation of the mystery of iniquity in a holy place. It is possible that Matthew connects this passage with the persecution of Domitian and his blasphemous claims of worship. At all events the single word *εὐθέως* inserted by Matthew in the prediction of Mk. 13 24 is too small a basis for the supposition of an earlier date. Both Gospels must have come into circulation within a decade or so after 70 A.D. The closer dating of the two must depend on their respective interpretation of the Danielic figure of the "abomination of desolation" and the 1290 or 1335 days which should elapse between its setting up and "the end."

Some Problems in Ancient Palestinian Topography

GEORGE A. BARTON

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE

SOME recent publications have considerably increased our knowledge of the geography of Palestine in the days of the Egyptian occupation and of the El-Amarna letters; they also present some points for further discussion.

Professor W. Max Müller, to whom Biblical scholars are so much indebted for placing the topographical information of the Egyptian inscriptions concerning Palestine within reach, and whose *Asien und Europa nach altägyptischen Denkmälern* has been of such inestimable service, published as Heft I of the *Mitteilungen der vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft* for 1907 *Die Palästinaliste Thutmosis III.* Müller has also placed within the reach of one who reads Egyptian the other Palestinian lists in his *Egyptological Researches*, 1906. Breasted's four volumes of *Ancient Records, Egypt*, 1906, also present the scholar with much valuable material.

Meantime Knudtzon's new collation of the El-Amarna tablets in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, and his translation of them in the *Vorderasiatische Bibliothek*, together with Clauz's article, "Die Städte der El-Amarnabriefe und die Bibel," in the *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, vol. xxx, 1907, pp. 1-79, have opened a number of points to clearer vision and presented some new problems for discussion.

The object of the present paper is to state the points of topography which seem to the writer to be now definitely settled, and to make a few suggestions about some which are still uncertain.

The following places mentioned in these sources may be

regarded as definitely identified with Biblical sites. In most cases the modern name of the site is also known. Megiddo, Gath, Taanach, Shunem, Gaza, Damascus, Ashtaroth, Hazor, Accho, Joppa, Kadesh in Galilee, Edrei, Beth-Anath in Naphtali, Hammath (near Tiberias), Pella (the פלה of the Talmud), Lebonah, Addar in Judah, Socoh, Ashkelon, Tyre, Sidon, and Aijalon are mentioned in more than one source. Thothmes III mentions Abel in Dan, Beeroth, Tob in Gilead, Makkedah (Jos. 15 41), Laish, Chinnereth (Genesaret), Mashal (1 Chr. 6 74), Achshaph (Jos. 11 1, 12 20), Ibleam, Iyyon, Anaharath (Jos. 19 19), Ophra, Aphik, Joppa, Ono, Lydda, Migdol, Ephes-Dammim, Gerar, Rabbith (Jos. 19 20), Naamah (Jos. 15 41), Jokneam (Jos. 19 11), Geba, Zereda (1 K. 11 26), Raqqath, which the Jerusalem Talmud identifies with the site of Tiberias (Neubauer, *Géographie du Talmud*, p. 208).

The El-Amarna letters mention Hannathon in Zebulon (Jos. 19 14), Keilah (Jos. 15 44 and 1 Sam. 23 1 ff.), Cozeba (1 Chr. 4 22), Lachish, Manahath (1 Chr. 8 6), Moresheth, Zorah, Adamah (Jos. 19 36), Jerusalem, Aroer, Bostra, Jabesh, Kanatha, and Sela.

Ramses III mentions Beth-Dagon¹ in Palestine and Carchemish² on the Euphrates.

Sheshonq gives us Rehob, Hapharaim in Issachar (Jos. 19 19), Mahanaim, Gibeon, Beth-Horon, Beth-Anoth of Judah, Beth-tappuah (Jos. 15 53), Sharuhén, Ain Paran (cf. the wilderness of Paran, Gen. 21 21), the Field of Abram somewhere in southern Judah, and the river Jordan.

The following proposed identifications for one reason or another deserve a word of remark.

GINA of EA,³ 164 17. 21 is identified by Clauz with the Biblical Engannim (Jos. 19 21), the modern Jenin, which in Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 6. 1, is called Γιναν. This seems very probable, though not certain. Clauz also identifies this

¹ Müller, *Egyptological Researches*, pl. 68, l. 72: B'-ty-d-qw-n'.

² *Ibid.*, pl. 65, l. 29: K-r-k'-my-s'.

³ I.e. El-Amarna. The reference is to Winckler's *Thontafeln von Tell-el-Amarna*, in *KB*, vol. v.

Gina with *Q'iniw* (No. 26 of Thothmes III's Palestinian list). Müller (*MVG*), on the other hand, identifies *Q'iniw* with KANAH in Asher (Jos. 19 28). Either identification is philologically possible. Jenin suits better the conditions of the El-Amarna letters, but it is not certain whether Gina of EA. is the same as *Q'iniw*, of Thothmes.

GINTI-KIRMIL of EA, 181 26, 185 5, Clauz identifies with GETTA on Mt. Carmel—a place mentioned by Pliny in his *Naturalis Historia*, v. 18 74, the exact location of which is not determined. This identification is possible, but as the other places mentioned in these letters are all further south,—Lakish, Keilah, Gaza, and Jerusalem,—it still seems to me that the identification with Carmel in Judah (modern Kurmel) is more probable. The one point in favor of Clauz's identification is the fact that Ginti-Kirmil is mentioned as the boundary of a district. This would beautifully suit a place on Mt. Carmel, but might equally apply to Carmel in Judah.

GATH-RIMMON. Clauz follows Knudtzon (*BA*, iv. 111), in reading Gitirimuni in EA, 164 45, and in identifying it with Gath-rimmon of Jos. 21 25, a city of Manasseh. If it really lay in the territory of Manasseh, however, the suggested identification with the modern *Rummane* is more than doubtful.

AS to HARABU (EA, 164 44), which according to Knudtzon should also be read in 201, Clauz is in doubt whether to identify it with the Rehob of Jud. 1 31, or with the 'Apaβa of Eusebius, *Onomas.* (ed. Lagarde, 237), a village three Roman miles west of Scythopolis. The former of these alternatives involves a transposition of radicals, and is very improbable. The latter is more probable, though not certain, for Eusebius (*l.c.*) mentions an 'Apaβa also in the neighborhood of Dio-Cæsarea.

YARAMI (or Jarami). Knudtzon reads this with the determinative in EA, 219 10, *i.e.* the tablet found at Tell-el-Hesy. This city Clauz regards as the same as the Biblical Kirjath-Jearim, the first element, which means simply "city," being omitted. This identification seems to me very probable.

QANU (EA, 251) Clauz identifies with the Biblical Cana and the modern Kefr Kenna. Both identifications are uncertain. Scholars are by no means agreed that Kefr Kenna is Cana, and as no other topographical data are given by the tablet the town intended might as easily be Kanah in Asher, the modern Kaneh.

MAGDALI and MAGDALIM (EA, 159 28, 237 26, and 281 14) Clauz places in the Jordan valley, regarding one of them as the Migdal-el of Jos. 19 38, the modern Mejdal. Semitic *Migdols*, or "towers," were, however, common. This renders the identification somewhat uncertain.

MAKAZ (1 K. 4 9) is by Clauz seen in the *Muḥazi*, which according to Knudtzon should be read in EA, 205 25. The change of *ḥ* to *k*, while phonetically not impossible,⁴ is doubtful.

Similarly RAQQATH, the forerunner of Tiberias, is tentatively seen by Clauz in Ruḥizi of EA, 139 36. 56. Two of the radicals, however, differ, which seems to me to make identification impossible.

ZEBOIM (1 Sam. 13 18, Neh. 11 34) Clauz finds in *Sabuma*, which Knudtzon reads in EA, 174 16 instead of Winckler's *Sapuna*. The identity is not, however, quite certain.

ŠAKMI, which Knudtzon reads in EA, 185 10 instead of Winckler's *la-a(?) -mi*, Clauz takes, as Knudtzon had done, to refer to Shechem. If the reading is secure, this is undoubtedly right.

A certain Egyptian Sebek-khu, an officer under Sesostri III (Useratesen III) of the twelfth Egyptian dynasty, says that he was with Sesostri when he captured Škmm (possibly to be read *Škmm*) in Retennu, or Syria-Palestine. See Breasted, *AR*, i. § 680. It is tempting to suppose, as Professor Müller once suggested in *OLZ*, that the Egyptian scribe was attempting to spell ŠKM, and that in the list from which he copied, the last radical was accidentally doubled. It is a serious, though perhaps not a fatal objection to this identification, that the meaningless doubling of an *m* at the end of a word is almost without parallel in

⁴ We should have supposed that *ḥ* was changed to *k*, and then sharpened to *ḫ*.

Egyptian. Professor Breasted tells me he knows of but one other instance, and that is in the imperative of a verb. It seems to me possible, however, that the doubling may well have been an accident in copying a foreign name, and may be quite independent of Egyptian analogies. If this supposition is correct, we have a reference to Shechem in twelfth dynasty records some four hundred years earlier than the El-Amarna tablets. Indeed, this campaign of Sesostris is the first Egyptian campaign in Palestine of any length of which we know.

Σιμώνιας, a village in Galilee which Josephus mentions in his life (ch. 24), and which others had identified with the modern Semuniyeh,⁵ Clauz finds in the *Samhuna* of EA, 220. This I believe to be right, and I mention it here for the sake of calling attention to the fact that the same place seems to be mentioned by Thothmes III, as No. 35 of his list (*š'-m'-n'*). Müller had noted (*MVG*, p. 15) that *š'-m'-n'* is the same as *Samhuna*, but was unable to identify it with a Biblical or modern site.

BETH-SHEMESH. In EA, 183 15 Abdikheba of Jerusalem says that the city of BETH-NINIB, a city belonging to the territory of Jerusalem, has gone over to the people of Keilah. It has been a great problem to know to what town reference was made. Clauz tentatively suggests that Beth-Shemesh (modern *Ain Shems*) was intended. The suggestion has much in its favor. The locality would admirably suit the circumstances, Beth-Shemesh being relatively near Keilah. The suggestion seems the more probable since Professor Clay has made a strong argument in favor of the view that NIN-IB was the usual Babylonian form of writing the name of the god of the West-land, *i.e.* Syria and Palestine (see *JAOS*, xxviii. 135-144). Since the Baals of this region were all closely associated with the sun, the scribe of Abdikheba may very well have employed it as an ideogram for the god Shemesh. The identification is not certain, but it is more attractive than any hitherto proposed.

In this connection it is of interest to recall the name

⁵ See the references in Buhl, *Geographie*, p. 215.

SAMSON (\check{S} - m' - \check{s} - n'), which occurs as a place name in the list of Ramses II (Müller, *Researches*, Pl. 62, 22). The name is also found in the list of Ramses III. Müller (*Asien und Europa*, p. 166) had noted that it might be connected with the name of the Biblical hero Samson. One wonders whether it were not another name for Beth-Shemesh, or of some place in that region.

The 78th name in the list of Thothmes III is Y - \check{s} - p - r' , which Meyer (*ZA W*, vi. p. 8) interpreted as Joseph-el — an interpretation accepted by many other scholars. Müller, who accepted this in 1893 (*Asien*, p. 162), followed Maspéro in 1899 (*OLZ*, 397) in correcting the Semitic equivalent to יִשׁוֹב־אֵל — a reading which was accepted by Winckler (*Geschichte Israels*, ii. 68). Müller now identifies it (*MVG*, 23) with יִישׁוֹב , a place mentioned in the Talmudic *Tosefta* in connection with Antipatris (modern *Ka'at Rās el-Ain*), and which Neubauer (*Géographie*, p. 90) identifies with *Arsuf* on the coast north of *Jaffa*. This identification with *Arsuf* Müller rightly rejects. Neubauer had also identified it with a place called *Yūsāf* in the *Samaritan Chronicle*, ch. 47. The geography of that chapter is, however, too vague to afford any clue as to locality, though a situation in the maritime plain is probably indicated. As Winckler had noted, the name occurs in Babylonian as the name of a person in the form *Ya-su-ub-ili* (*CT*, iii. 23, 15). It seems that we have to give up the idea that the name of Joseph occurs in the list of Thothmes, unless, as is possible, the name Joseph is a corruption of *Yašub*, the labial *b* having been changed to the closely related *p*.

The name Y - q - bi - r (No. 102 of Thothmes' list), which also occurs in the list of Ramses II as Y '- q - b - rw (Müller, *Researches*, Pl. 60, No. 9), was identified by Meyer (*op. cit.*) as Jacob-el. Müller (*Asien*, p. 164) held that this place must be sought in the west of central Palestine, — an opinion which he reaffirms in his latest publication (*MVG*, p. 27). Others, as Toy, *New World*, 1893, p. 131, had not attempted to locate it, apparently considering the topographical indications too vague. Šanda, on the other hand,

argued (*MVG*, vii. 1902, pp. 74-77) that the whole group of names in the list of Thothmes between Nos. 90 and 110 lay in the country east of the Jordan, and suggested that the name was to be connected with Penuel, — the scene of the narrative of Gen. 32, — a view adopted and amplified by Erbt (*Die Hebräer*, 1906, pp. 18-25).

Šanda's claim that twenty-one consecutive names (Nos. 90-110) belong to the country east of the Jordan seems to me untenable. Nos. 90, 92, and 97 of the list refer to places called *Abel*, as does No. 15. Three Biblical *Abels* are known, — Abel Beth Maacah, Abel Meholah, and Abel Shittim — of which Abel Shittim only lay east of the Jordan. Müller is, I believe, right in identifying No. 103 with the Gabatha of Eusebius — the modern *Jebata* in Galilee (see Buhl, *Geographie*, p. 215). He also rightly sees in No. 104 the *Rubuti* of the El-Amarna letters, identified by Clauz with Rabbah (Jos. 15 60), which lay in the territory of Judah. In No. 109 Müller rightly finds Beeroth in Benjamin, while in No. 110, B'ty-š'-ir, we have, I think, the Biblical Bethshean, *n* being here changed to the kindred liquid, *r*. Paton (*Early History of Syria and Palestine*, p. 81) identifies it with Bethel. All these lie west of the Jordan.

There are nevertheless some trans-Jordanic towns among these names. No. 91 is Edrei. No. 95 is 'Ayun, southeast of the Sea of Galilee. No. 98 is probably Diban in Moab. Müller recognizes the possibility, if not the probability, of these identifications, and of the second of them he speaks confidently (*MVG*, pp. 25 ff.). It is quite possible, therefore, that Šanda is right in placing Jacobel at Penuel. Some slight confirmation of this view may be found in the list of Ramses, in which the next name after Jacobel is apparently incomplete, but the portion of which is clear is *K-r'-k'*, and which may have been *K-r'-k'-r*. This might be Karkor (קַרְקֹר) of Jud. 8 10, a trans-Jordanic town.

THE VALE OF SHAVEH (שָׁוֶה), mentioned in Gen. 14 17, Müller has acutely perceived in the 'n-š'-w(-i) (שָׁוֶה עֵין) of Thothmes' list, No. 5.

Note should also be made of Müller's discovery of an

Egyptian parallel to Bezek, of which Adoni-bezek was king (Jud. 1 5 ff.). It is the city *Kir-Bezek*, No. 73 in the list of Ramses III (see Müller, *Researches*, p. 49, and Pl. 68, No. 73).

Clauz identifies the city Rubuti (EA, 183 10) with RABBAH (Jos. 15 60). Although the site is unknown, the identification has much to commend it.

Folk-tales in Old Testament Narrative

IRVING F. WOOD

SMITH COLLEGE, NORTHAMPTON, MASS.

IN dealing with the problems of Old Testament narrative, scholarship must humble itself to the study of popular story-telling, and must make this study as thorough and scholarly as is the study of language and history. I wish here to touch only upon one phase of this subject, that which has to do with the forms of popular tales.

Ancient popular stories divide themselves, according to form, into two classes: those in folk-tale form, and those in what, for want of a better term, I shall call literary form. By folk-tale form, I mean the form which a story has taken as it has been told and retold by people not professional story-tellers, about the campfires, at the close of the day in the villages, and, most notably, to children.

By literary form, I mean the form which a story has taken in the hands of a more or less adept and specialized literary artist. The tales of the professional story-teller in the East are usually in the literary form. Those told by the mother to the children, most often in the folk-tale form.

The folk-tales not only appeal to the interest of the listener, — the story in literary form does that also, — but are adapted to the capacity for memory and narration possessed by the average householder of the humbler classes. Herein lies the possibility of making tests which shall sometimes determine with measurable certainty the origin of particular tales in any body of ancient narrative. Doubtless all tales cannot be thus distributed to their sources, since the distinguishing marks are not always visible, but there is reason to hope that the origin of some tales can be at least presumptively fixed.

Old Testament narration seems in the main to have under-

gone, before it was written, a transition into more or less complete literary form, though one may often suspect even in such cases a folk-tale basis. The method of compilation used by the writers of most Old Testament narration would itself lead one to suppose that examples of the folk-tale might be embodied among traditions cast in a more formal literary mold.

Tests by which such folk-tales can be distinguished must be formed in the light of two facts: (1) the natural limitations of narration among people of average ability in a community of primitive culture; (2) the forms which known folk-tales originating under such circumstances actually take.

The tests will be such as the following:

1. The story is short. Such extended tales as that of Joseph seem to belong rather to the literary than to the folk-tale form, though doubtless resting back upon folk-tale elements. They are comparable to the long tales of the Arabian Nights, which bear marks of literary embellishment.

2. The folk-tale often depends for its power to capture the memory upon some pat saying or unexpected situation, which gives the proper snap to the whole story. Often this sentence or situation is all there is to the story, the rest of the tale being merely background for this one element. The story of David's capture of Jerusalem, with its saying about the blind and the lame, may be an illustration. So, of a little fuller sort, is the story of Solomon's judgment, 1 K. 3 16-27, which belongs to a class of folk-tales very widespread and very popular both in the Arabic east and in India.

3. The folk-tale often has a non-moral character. The point of it is often the trickery by which a weak or despised character obtains an advantage, as in the case of the hare and the hedgehog. The folk-tale proper seldom teaches a moral lesson. Children and other unsophisticated people have always objected to "*Haec fabula docet*." Most of the stories in the Old Testament which seem to fall into the class of folk-tales are not in themselves moral. Some of them are even the opposite of moral.

4. Folk-tales are very apt to become, if they are not so in their origin, hero tales. Examples are the great mass of Alexander and Solomon tales in the Moslem east, and the Rama tales of India. In the Old Testament we find evidences of such hero tales attached to the names of Abraham, David, Samuel, Solomon.

5. The folk-tale often embodies repetition of internal details and situations. So Cinderella receives a beautiful dress and goes to the ball and dances for three successive nights, the story of each night being told in almost the same words. Grimm's *Märchen* abound in illustrations. So do the genuine folk-tales of the east, where often a situation is repeated over and over in almost the same words.

The reason for this very common characteristic seems to lie in the desirability of sustaining and increasing the interest by delaying the crisis. But the meager mental abilities of both narrator and listener are more easily met if the crisis is delayed by repetition rather than by new matter, with its demand for variety in narration and for the grasp of a number of details by the listener. If you will listen to children of average imagination telling stories to each other, you will usually notice the same characteristics.

In the rest of this article it is proposed to apply these tests to certain narratives which may perhaps be in the folk-tale form.

1 Sam. 3 2-18. The story of the boy Samuel in the temple.

The story is short, has attached itself to a hero of national tradition, and contains repetition. It bears definitely the marks of the folk-tale. The story seems to be edited into the narrative by the prophetic writers. The message to Samuel (vss. 11-14) is plainly a prophetic sermon and bears no relation to the folk-tale style. It is a common suggestion that part or all of these verses lack connection with the story. Budde would excise vss. 11-14, Wellhausen and Nowack, vs. 12. Perhaps the solution may be, not in a later addition to the prophetic writing, but in an addition of the prophetic writer to the folk-tale which he borrowed. Without the prophetic sermon the story becomes character-

istically non-moral. It is fruitless to conjecture exactly what the tale had in place of the prophetic message, but one may surmise that it was an oracle of disaster to Eli or to Shiloh. Following such an oracle, the submissive word of Eli, "It is Jahveh, let him do what is good in his eyes," forms a very fitting climax of the common folk-tale style. In the story as it now stands, following the sharp condemnation of the prophetic message, it is a weak ending. It shows submission instead of penitence, fatalism instead of moral sensitiveness.

When one remembers how much of the popular estimate of Eli has been based on this inept ending of a prophetic story, it is worth while to call attention to the fact that if we can separate the folk-tale from its prophetic surroundings, we shall give a more virile aspect to this somewhat shadowy character in Hebrew tradition.

1 Sam. 16 1-13. The story of the anointing of David presents another case of folk-tale repetition. The story is prolonged, the imagination held and the interest sustained by the introduction, one after the other, of David's brothers, and each repetition is in almost the same words. The final choice of the boy who had been left among the sheep is heightened by the dramatic contrast with his brothers of beautiful countenance and great stature. One sees the popular element also in the fact that the neglected member of the family proves to be the favorite of fortune—a very common element in the folk-tale, always popular.

That the narrative stands isolated from its context is held by most commentators. It is usually assigned to a late redactor (see Budde, Kittel, Wellhausen, Nowack. H. P. Smith ascribes it to the Sm. writer). The folk-tale form in itself argues neither for nor against the late date. If the date is late, it does, however, offer a reason for its insertion. The folk-tale form shows it to be a popular and widely known story. Such tales are, among simple people, considered to be matters of common knowledge and taken as unquestionably true, like the story of Tell and the apple and of Washington and the hatchet. If a written collection

of tales about a popular hero is still open to any sort of interpolation, such a story will sooner or later find its way into the book.

The story shows the characteristic non-moral trickery of folk-tales. Samuel fears the wrath of Saul and gets into contact with the family of Jesse by trickery. The moral element is only introduced in the oracle about Eliab — "Jahveh seeth not as man seeth; for man looketh upon the eyes, but God looketh upon the heart." Such didacticism is hardly natural in the genuine folk-tale, and moreover blocks the rapidity of movement in the story. It is harmonious with prophetic thought, and one suspects that here the editor is reading a moral into the original tale. The original tale without this suggests no moral. It is only that the boy comes out ahead of his big brothers, and that is quite enough for the folk-tale.

The editors have also supplied a connection between this tale and what precedes, but it is of the slightest — perhaps only the suggestion that Samuel is mourning for Saul. At the end there is also a very slight editorial connection with what follows; for surely the statement that "the Spirit of Jahveh came mightily upon David from that day forward" looks toward the statement in the next verse that "the Spirit of Jahveh had departed from Saul." With the exception of these three minor additions, we seem to have a complete folk-tale narrative. It ends: "And Jahveh said, Arise, anoint him, for this is he. Then Samuel took the horn of oil and anointed him in the midst of his brethren. And Samuel rose up and went to Ramah."

Gen. 18 17-33. The story of Abraham's pleading for Sodom is also in folk-tale form. It is usually separated from its context as containing elements incongruous with the J story in which it stands (see Carpenter and Battersby; Bacon, *Genesis of Genesis*; Cornill; Kuenen; Wellhausen; Driver, *Genesis*, etc.). Removing vs. 22, which serves to make connection with the preceding narrative, the tale is independent and complete in itself. The men who visited Abraham then disappear, and the story is a colloquy between Jahveh and

Abraham. Its primary motive is that of the typical hero folk-tale, to exalt a national hero. This it does by the decision of Jahveh to take Abraham into divine confidence, and by his patient yielding to Abraham's successive requests. Its secondary motive is the wickedness of Sodom. Both motives are emphasized and dramatized by the reiterated prayer of Abraham in almost the same words at each repetition. Late prophetic phraseology at the beginning, with the formal national emphasis in vss. 18-19, seem to be due to prophetic editing. Vs. 17 might be a part of the folk-tale, "and Jahveh said, Shall I hide from Abraham that which I will do?" Then follow with vs. 20, "And Jahveh said, Because the cry of Sodom and Gomorah is great, . . . I will go down now and see whether they have done according to the cry of it," vs. 23, "And Abraham drew near and said, Wilt thou destroy the righteous with the wicked?" and the colloquy begins.

Cut it off from the theological concepts as to Jahveh which gather about it in our minds, isolate it from the prophetic teaching in which it is set, regard it simply as a story told in Palestinian villages overlooking the Jordan chasm, and it illustrates the greatness of Abraham rather than the mercy of God. The story is non-moral. Doubtless the God is great, for he can destroy whole cities; but what of the ethical quality of a God who lays aside punishment so easily at the request of a human favorite? This is hardly the God of the prophets, but — and here is the point — it is the God of the folk-tale, from ancient India to Mediæval Europe. The primary purpose of the tale is not to teach about God, but to tell a story about a hero, who was so great that he could get what he wanted from God himself. As prophetic teaching, it would be immoral. As a folk-tale it is not. It is only non-moral.

An interesting example of repetition is the prologue of Job. The double scene in heaven, followed by a double scene on earth; the repetition in almost the same language of the colloquy of the Satan and Jahveh, and of the message of destruction to Job, along with the brevity and rapid move-

ment of the story — all these are very suggestive of the folk-tale. One questions whether this may not throw some light on the oft-mooted problem of the tradition lying back of this book. That some tradition did lie back of it, the analogy of Hebrew literature and the mention of Job in Ezekiel suffice to make probable if not certain. A frequent suggestion has been that the prologue and epilogue constituted a "book of popular character, which in simple, popular fashion gave an account of the pious Job" (Cornill, *Introduction to O. T.*). So Duhm regards the prologue and epilogue as a "*Volksbuch*." Macdonald (*JBL*, XIV. pp. 63-71) suggests a legend as the basis of the story. May we not raise the question whether this legend was not in folk-tale form? If so, it would seem probable that the tale is given almost, if not quite, complete in the prologue, and possibly in the epilogue. The prologue presents the characteristic repetition, compactness, and brevity of folk-tales. The epilogue does not exhibit folk-tale elements so plainly. Whether the epilogue is part of the original tale or not, the poem certainly displaces the heart of the story. Some supreme expression of piety must have formed the climax of the tale, some expression to which the words, "In all this Job sinned not with his lips," look forward. We can only surmise that it must have been a far cruder and more naïve form of piety than is the subtile play of doubt and faith which the genius of the poet has substituted for it. That the Satan is a figure which can only belong to a comparatively late date, together with other evidences of a late date, does not militate against the folk-tale form. Not all folk-tales are old. The older strata of tales are very persistent, but to them are constantly being added new tales, or new elements in the old tales.

The above are only suggestions of the application of the folk-tale tests in Old Testament narration. Whether these particular narratives conform to the tests is of less importance than whether the tests themselves can be applied to any narratives. The discrimination which they suggest is of value in the following ways:

1. By it we can push our way back one step nearer the birth of a story.

2. We can sometimes differentiate between a folk-tale and its literary setting and so add to our means of the discrimination of sources.

3. We can get the basis for a further principle of literary and historical judgment; for we shall not judge a folk-tale in all respects as we do a story in literary form.

Rô'eh and Hôzēh in the Old Testament

MORRIS JASTROW, JR.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

IT has been customary to regard רָאָה and חָזָה as synonyms of נָבִיא "prophet" and as embodying an older usage of a time when visions were supposed to be the distinguishing mark of prophecy.¹ This view rests on two suppositions: (1) that both רָאָה and חָזָה convey the idea of "seeing" either in the sense of foreseeing events or of having a vision through which the future is revealed, and (2) that the gloss in 1 Sam. 9 9, "that the *nābî* of to-day was formerly called the *rô'ēh*" carries with it the synonymy of the two terms.

While it is true that the gloss distinctly conveys the view that רָאָה is the older term which was subsequently replaced by נָבִיא, it does not necessarily follow that the functions of the רָאָה and נָבִיא were always identical. Indeed, the natural course of religious evolution furnishes a presumption in favor of the supposition that the רָאָה, belonging to an earlier grade of culture, reflects a more primitive view of the manner in which the will and intention of the gods were to be ascertained than the נָבִיא which, whatever its origin,² became in Hebrew usage the term for the one

¹ A. B. Davidson, *Prophecy and Prophets* (*Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*, iv. p. 108), and the same author's *Old Testament Prophecy* (Edinburgh, 1904), p. 81; E. G. Hirsch, *Prophecy and Prophecy*, in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. x. p. 213; but see Nowack, *Bücher Samuelis*, p. 41.

² See Hoffmann in *ZAW*, iii. pp. 87 sq., who discusses the possibility of a connection with the meaning of the corresponding stem in Arabic of a "rustling" sound, but which he does not regard as satisfactory. Kuenen (*Prophecy of Israel*, p. 42) and others connect נָבִיא with נָבַע "bubble up," either analogous to the use of דָּפַף "drip" (*Am.* 7 16; *Mic.* 2 11) or suggested by the symptoms of an epileptic. See Hoffmann, *l.c.* p. 119 and *Encycl. Biblica*, iii. col. 3853. J. A. Bewer in *AJSL*, xviii (1902), p. 120, compares the Assyrian *nabû*, "tear away, lead forcibly," hence the prophet is (fig.) *carried away* by divine frenzy, ecstasy.

who, casting aside the ordinary means of divination, is the direct mouthpiece of a Deity purified of unethical conceptions, spiritualized and largely also denationalized. If we examine the passages in which רֹאֶה is used, we shall find his functions as a matter of fact to be quite different from those of the later נָבִיא. The רֹאֶה *par excellence* in the O. T. is Samuel, who is thrice called in Chronicles (1 Chr. 9 22, 26 28, 29 29)³ שְׁמוּאֵל הַרֹאֶה "Samuel, the *rô'eh*" in a way which indicates that הַרֹאֶה was the title by which he was known, precisely as Nathan was known as הַנָּבִיא (1 Chr. 17 1 29 29, 2 Chr. 9 29 29 25, Ps. 51 2, 1 Ki. 1 8. 10. 22. 23. 32. 34. 38. 44. 45), and as Gad was known as הַחֹזֶה⁴ (1 Chr. 29 29), and Zadok as הַכֹּהֵן (2 Sam. 15 27, 1 Ki. 1 8. 26. 32. 34. 38. 39. 44. 45 2 35 4 2, 1 Chr. 16 39 24 6 29 22). Besides these three passages, רֹאֶה occurs in connection with Samuel no less than four times in the narrative of his first meeting with Saul (1 Sam. 9 9. 11. 18. 19), which according to the critical analysis forms part of the "Saul" document in the Book of Samuel.⁵ This narrative, which may be taken as typical of the functions ascribed to Samuel, reveals him to us in the distinct rôle of a diviner. Saul, acting on the advice of his attendant, seeks out Samuel, through whom as an אִישׁ הָאֱלֹהִים "man of Elohim"⁶ (vss. 6. 7. 8. 10) he hopes to find the whereabouts of the lost asses of his father Kish. Samuel enjoys high repute as one who can forecast the future; "whatever he says will surely come to pass," says Saul's attendant, "therefore let us go thither, perhaps he will tell us what road we should take" (vs. 6), *i.e.* he may be able to tell us where the lost asses can be found. On Saul objecting that he has nothing to offer the "man of Elohim," the attendant says that he has one fourth of a shekel of silver which he is ready to give. Samuel is, therefore, viewed as

³The latter passage is particularly interesting as embodying all three terms רֹאֶה, חֹזֶה, and נָבִיא applied to Samuel, Gad, and Nathan, respectively.

⁴See, however, below.

⁵See H. P. Smith, *Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Samuel*, p. 59; Kautzsch, *die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments*, p. 289.

⁶On this term, used as a very general one, see Davidson, *Old Testament Prophecy*, p. 79.

one who carries on divination as a profession, to whom one goes for the purpose of securing an answer to some question and who receives a compensation in return. As a diviner he might still be placed in the category of the prophet, though of a rather primitive type, but in the course of the narrative, brief as it is, he is distinctly portrayed as a priest. Saul and his attendant on reaching the ascents to the city in which the "man of Elohim" was to be found, inquire of some maidens coming out to draw water, "Is the *rô'êh* here?" The reply of the maidens (vss. 12-13) is significant:

"And they answered them and said, 'He is near by. Make haste now, for just to-day he has come to the city, for there is a general sacrifice to-day (וְזֶבַח הַיּוֹם לַעֲלֹם) on the *bāmāh*. On your entering the city you will find him before he ascends the *bāmāh* to eat, for the people may not eat until he comes to bless the sacrifice. After that those bidden may eat,' etc.

The view of modern commentators, including that of H. P. Smith,⁷ that the "blessing of the sacrifice is not a priestly function," but merely a kind of grace,⁸ is hardly justified in view of the abundant evidence that among the Semites in general the presence of the priest was essential to a sacrifice. A זֶבַח is a religious rite and the blessing of the sacrifice is clearly a form of sanctification to give an assurance that it has been accepted by Jahweh. Such an assurance can only be given by a priest acting as mediator between a god and his worshipers. The priestly function assumed by Samuel is in accord with other episodes in his career which, however much they may have been worked over by later editors, contain a core of reliable historical tradition. He is an attendant in the house of Jahweh (1 Sam. 31), dedicated to the service of Jahweh through a formal sacrifice (1 Sam. 1 24-25). As the "boy" of Eli, the priest, he wears the linen "ephod" (1 Sam. 2 18) — the distinct symbol of priesthood.⁹ The

⁷ *l.c.* p. 62.

⁸ following Wellhausen, *Prolegomena* (5 ed.), p. 70. Budde (*die Bücher Samuel*, p. 62) is inclined to regard Samuel's action as an exceptional one, but the context implies rather a regular practice.

⁹ Cf. 1 Sam. 2 28, where the phrase "to carry the *ephod* before me" is descriptive of priestly functions.

significant feature in the dramatic legend of Samuel's first vision (1 Sam. 3) is that it takes place while he is in the temple service. Later at Mizpah he appears in the rôle of mediator between Jahweh and his people,¹⁰ and his intercession is accompanied by religious rites; and no less significant is the incidental notice that at Ramah, which is called his home, he built a sacrificial altar to Jahweh (1 Sam. 7 17).¹¹ There is no reason to question the authenticity of such incidental notices, which show that as a **רֹאֶה** Samuel performed the functions of a priest in the early stages of worship among the Hebrews. As for the narrative of the meeting of Saul with Samuel, the frequent use of the term **רֹאֶה** as well as the naïve manner in which Saul and his attendant are represented as going to this **רֹאֶה** for the purpose of ascertaining what had become of the lost asses of Kish, indicate that the original purpose of the tale was to demonstrate the powers of Samuel as a diviner. For he foretells (10 2-9) three incidents that will happen: (1) at the grave of Rachel Saul will encounter two men who will tell him that the asses have been found, (2) at Elon Tabor he will encounter three men on the way to Bethel with sacrifices for the sanctuary, and (3) at Gibeath-Elohim he will encounter a company of **גִּבְיָאִים**, and the spirit of Jahweh will descend on him.¹² It is probable that three independent forecasts, or three versions of a single forecast, have here been combined and brought into connection with the incident of the meeting of Samuel with Saul which, being fraught with such important consequences, would naturally have become a favorite subject for folkloric expan-

¹⁰ 1 Sam. 7 5-6 **וַאֲתַפֵּל בְּעֶרְכֶם אֱלֹהֵי דָוִד**. The prayer is accompanied by religious rites such as fasting and libations; and when it is added that "Samuel judged the Benê Israel at Mizpah," it is reasonable to conclude that what Samuel did was to render a "decision" in the name of Jahweh, or in other words to announce the intention of Jahweh, secured as an oracle in some way, in connection with the coming struggle against the Philistines.

¹¹ The "stone" which he erects after the victory over the Philistines (1 Sam. 7 12) may also have been some kind of an altar.

¹² The "duplicate" of this story in 1 Sam. 19 13-24 is recognized as a late adaptation (see H. P. Smith, *l.c.* p. 181), so that the appearance of Samuel at the head of the band (vs. 20) is a purely fanciful touch and manifestly incongruous.

sion; but for our purposes the main point is the illustration that the three forecasts afford of the popular conception of Samuel as a diviner. That at this time the *נביא* was quite distinct from the *נביא* follows from the description given of the "prophets" whom Saul is to encounter — a band of howling dervishes accompanying their chants with musical instruments.¹³ If Samuel is in one passage actually referred to as a *נביא* (1 Sam. 3 20), this is due of course to the projection of a later conception of a prophet into the past, under the influence of which the title is assigned to all the ancient leaders from Abraham on, irrespective of the specific rôles played by them.

The anointing of Saul by Samuel (1 Sam. 10) in the name of Jahweh shows us Samuel again performing a priestly function, though in view of the fact that the episode has been manifestly introduced as a counterbalance to the narrative of Samuel's opposition to the kingship (chaps. 8 and 12), its only value lies in the tradition that it embodies of the functions ascribed to Samuel, who thus turns out to be essentially a diviner and a priest; and since, as we have seen, the term *rô'êh* belongs to the older structure of Hebrew culture, we should be prepared to find the *rô'êh* on a par with priests and diviners elsewhere. One of the oldest as well as one of the commonest designations of the priest in Babylonia is *bârû*,¹⁴ a participial form from the stem *barû*, which is the common one in Babylonian for "to see" or "look at something," used in fact precisely as *râ'âh* is in Hebrew. The *bârû*, this word being formed precisely as *rô'êh*, is essentially and primarily the divining priest, but the "seeing" involved in his office is of a very specific character. He is not a "seer" in the modern acceptance of the term, as one who can "foresee," but an "inspector," and the inspection implied is that of the liver of the sacrificial animal, through which as the vital organ of the animal, as the soul and seat

¹³ Chap. 10 s. See below, p. 51.

¹⁴ See Jastrow, *Rel. Babyl. und Assy.*, ii. pp. 192 seq., where the various functions of the *bârû* are set forth, but this variety is due to the development of the Babylonian ritual, in consequence of which *bârû* became the "diviner" in general without reference to any special mode of divination.

of life, the will and intention of the god, who accepts the animal and is thus identified with it, are revealed.¹⁵ Through carefully "looking at" the phenomena noted on the liver, each sign being given an interpretation in accord with an elaborate system devised by the *bârû*-priests,¹⁶ the *bârû* or "inspector" obtains the answer to the question put to him. Hepatoscopy is the oldest form of divination known to us among the Babylonians, and since, as has been shown elsewhere,¹⁷ the second grand division of Babylonian divination—the reading of coming events through the sun, moon, planets, and stars—is dependent upon hepatoscopy, the application of the term *bârû* to the stargazer or astrologer, and then to the interpreter of dreams and of signs in general, represents the natural extension of the functions of the *bârû*. In consequence, the word becomes the general designation of the priest as "diviner," irrespective of the means chosen by him for forecasting the future, or what he predicts, or what the questions are that may be put to him.

The Hebrew רֹאֵה, being the exact equivalent of the Babylonian *bârû*, and the *rô'eh* as exemplified in the narrative of Samuel being a diviner and a priest, it would seem reasonable to take the רֹאֵה in accord with the meaning attached to *bârû*, as likewise originally an "inspector," who looks at something with a view of obtaining an answer to a given question. We have as an interesting confirmation of the correspondence here assumed between the Babylonian stem *bârû* in this specific sense and the Hebrew רֹאֵה, the passage in Ez. 21 26, where the prophet accurately describes the Babylonian method of divination as רֹאֵה בִּכְבֶּד, literally "he looked at the liver," but which is to be taken as a compound expression to convey the idea of "liver inspection" or hepatoscopy. While traces of the view upon which hepatoscopy

¹⁵ See a paper by the writer, "The Liver in Antiquity and the Beginnings of Anatomy" (*Univ. of Pa. Medical Bulletin*, January, 1908, and *Trans. Phila. College of Physicians*, 3d Series, xxix. pp. 117-138).

¹⁶ See Jastrow, *Rel. Babyl. und Assy.*, ii. pp. 244 sq., and the copious illustrations there given, pp. 252-415.

¹⁷ "The Sign and Name for Planet in Babylonian," in *Proceedings of the Amer. Philos. Society*, vol. xlvii, pp. 145 sq.

rests — the liver as the seat of the soul or of life — are to be found in Hebrew,¹⁸ it must be admitted that there are no direct indications that hepatoscopy was practiced by the ancient Hebrews outside of the prohibition to burn the *lobus caudatus* of the liver as embodied in nine different passages of the Pentateuchal codes. The prohibition is aimed against using the sacrificial animal for purposes of divination,¹⁹ and in so far points to the knowledge of this form of divination among the Hebrews. Still it is significant that in the list of various kinds of diviners — Deut. 18 10-11 — there is no mention of hepatoscopy, so that we are not justified in going further than the assumption that the *יֵאֵזֶר* was applied to a divining priest who looks at or inspects some material object as a means of forecasting the course of events or of furnishing an answer to a question. We are not told how Samuel proceeds to furnish an answer to the question put to him by Saul, but perhaps some significance is to be attached to the detail that Samuel speaks to Saul "on the roof" and according to one version "at sunrise."²⁰ The time of sunrise is a favorite one for performing incantation rites and for other ritualistic acts.²¹ Is the conference "on the roof" perhaps to be taken as an allusion to divination through the heavenly phenomena? It would be natural that in the narrative, which portrays Samuel as a faithful Jahweh worshiper, details contradictory to the spirit of the Pentateuchal ideals and of the prophetic views should be suppressed, or perhaps it would be more correct to say, should quietly disappear from the narrative. If there be any force to this hypothesis, it would indicate that as applied to

¹⁸ Pr. 7 23 "splitting the liver" in the sense of killing, where *קָבַר* is used as a synonym of *שָׁחַת*. See also Lam. 2 11 "my liver is poured out on the earth," where again "liver" is a synonym of "soul."

¹⁹ See Jastrow, *Rel. Babyl. und Assy.*, ii. p. 231, note 10, where the proof is given — following Moore — that the *הֵיטָרַת עֲלֵי־קָבַר* (Ex. 29 13. 22, Lev. 3 4. 10. 15 7 4 8 16. 25 9 10. 19) is the *lobus caudatus*.

²⁰ 1 Sam. 9 26.

²¹ See Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Babyl.-Assyr. Religion*, pp. 100, 104, 112, 141, etc.; Tallquist, *Assyrische Beschwörungsserie, Maqlû Serie*, p. 33. The time for invoking the spirits is during the night up to the time of dawn.

Samuel, the term רֹאֶה had already reached the stage represented by the use of *bārû* in Babylonian as the divining priest in general.

Outside of Samuel, the title "the *rô'eh*" is bestowed on one other personage only, namely Hanani, who comes to Asa, king of Judah (2 Chr. 16 7-10), and foretells disaster through wars because the king "relied" upon Aram and not upon Jahweh. The story, to be sure, is found in Chronicles only, and for that reason might be open to suspicion. The use, however, of the old term רֹאֶה instead of the later one נְבִיא may be taken as an evidence at least of the antiquity of the tradition, if not of its authenticity.²² The occurrence of a רֹאֶה — of one officially designated as such — in the days of Asa is a valuable indication of the continued use of the ancient term to the end of the tenth century. Asa's reign, it will be recalled, began in the twentieth year of Jeroboam, the first king of Israel, and extends, at all events, to the time of Omri, the sixth king of Israel, — but it is not till the days of the latter's son Ahab that a new religious type appears in the person of Elijah. Does this period perhaps represent the border-line, separating the רֹאֶה definitely from the נְבִיא? ²³

²² The Greek version, it is to be noted, in many instances fails to note the distinction between רֹאֶה, חֹזֶה, and נְבִיא, using *προφήτης* indiscriminately for all three. Thus for רֹאֶה we find *ὁ βλέπων* 1 Sam. 9 9. 11. 13, 1 Chr. 9 22 29 22, but 1 Chr. 26 28 *προφήτης* and so also 2 Chr. 16 7. 10 of Hanani; for חֹזֶה we find *προφήτης* 2 Sam. 24 11, 2 Chr. 19 2 29 30 and 35 15 (plural), but *ὁρῶν* 2 Ki. 17 13, 1 Chr. 21 9, 2 Chr. 9 29 12 15 29 25, while 1 Chr. 29 29 *ὁ βλέπων*. A totally different word occurs once 1 Chr. 25 5. No doubt in some cases the correction to the more legitimate term *προφήτης* is intentional, just as in the Hebrew text רֹאֶה and חֹזֶה are occasionally replaced by נְבִיא or the latter is added.

²³ In view of this reference to רֹאֶה in the days of Asa, one is tempted to correct the rather absurd בְּרִפְאִים in 2 Chr. 16 12 to בְּרִאִים. The verse as it stands "even in his sickness he did not seek Jahweh but the physicians," followed by the statement, "and Asa slept with his fathers," would indicate a peculiar attitude towards the medical profession, which becomes intelligible only if we suppose the purpose of the Chronicler to have been to ironically suggest a connection between the king's seeking medical advice and his demise. If the proposed change appears too radical it seems to me that we ought at least to read: לֹא יָרַשׁ אֶת־יְהוָה כִּי בְּרִפְאִים in the sense of "inquiring of the dead." The phrase אֶת־יְהוָה means, of course, "to entreat

Turning now to *חֹזֶה* we find this term of far more frequent occurrence than *רֹאֶה* and in use to a much later period. It has already been remarked²⁴ that, just as the title "the *ro'eh*" attaches to Samuel, so *hōzēh* seems to have clung to Gad, who is spoken of as the *חֹזֶה דָּוִד* (1 Chr. 21 9, 2 Sam. 24 11) or *חֹזֶה הַמֶּלֶךְ* (2 Chr. 29 25) or simply as *הַחֹזֶה* (1 Chr. 29 29). If, therefore, instead of *הַחֹזֶה* we encounter *הַנְּבִיא* (1 Sam. 22 5) as the title of Gad, this is clearly a scribal correction²⁵ in order to give him the higher and more legitimate title. The proof for this is furnished by 2 Sam. 24 11, where we find both titles *גַּד הַנְּבִיא חֹזֶה דָּוִד*, and where *הַנְּבִיא* is clearly a marginal gloss that has crept into the text. Since we never find the combination *נְבִיא הַמֶּלֶךְ*, it follows that the *חֹזֶה* was a special attendant—the official diviner as it were at the special service of the ruler. Similarly, Heman (1 Chr. 25 5) and Jeduthun (2 Chr. 35 15) are designated as *חֹזֶה הַמֶּלֶךְ*, and since both of these as well as Asaf are connected with the temple service as Levites and "singers" (*הַמְשִׁירִים* 1 Chr. 15 19 Heman, Asaf, Ethan, for which 2 Chr. 5 12 has Heman, Asaf, and Jeduthun; *הַלְלוֹת* 1 Chr. 15 17, 2 Chr. 5 12), the prophetic powers associated with them (1 Chr. 25 1 *הַנְּבִיאִים הַנְּבִיאִים*) are, as in the case of the *רֹאֶה*, not dissociated originally from priestly functions. The term, therefore, likewise belongs to an early period in the religious history of the Hebrews, when divination formed a part of

Jahweh" (e.g. 1 Ki. 22 5, 8, Is. 31 1, Jer. 10 21, Ez. 20 1, Hos. 10 12, Ps. 34 5, 2 Chr. 22 9 26 5 etc.), but the verb *דָּרַשׁ* is also used of inquiring of the dead, e.g. Deut. 18 11 (*דָּרַשׁ אֱלֹהֵי הַמֵּתִים*), Is. 8 19 (*הִלְאֵינוּ אֱלֹהֵי הַמֵּתִים*), and since *רָפְאִים* is a synonym of *מֵתִים* (e.g. Is. 26 14, Ps. 88 11), the phrase admits of the interpretation proposed. The change, which adds but a single letter, may also have been intentional, to avoid the objectionable term in the case of a "good" king. It may, perhaps, not be out of place to suggest also that the reference to the king's sickness at the end of 1 Ki. 15 23 is a late gloss based upon the fuller story in Chronicles and introduced as a reference thereto.

²⁴ See above, p. 43.

²⁵ The change of *חֹזֶה* into *נְבִיא* is due, of course, on the one hand to the influence of the later view which regarded all legitimate servants of Jahweh as genuine "prophets," and on the other, to the gradual fading out of the tradition which had once differentiated between a *חֹזֶה* and a *נְבִיא*.

the priestly office and before the period of the differentiation of the diviner from the true prophet of Jahweh and the concomitant differentiation between "prophet" and "priest." That the prophecy connected with the *Hôzim* was of a lower order is indicated by the mention of musical instruments in the passage in 1 Chr. 25 1 as part of the prophetic outfit, which places them in the same category with the singing dervishes whom Saul encounters.²⁶ The title *הַחֹזֶה* attaches also to Jeddo (2 Chr. 9 29) or Iddo (2 Chr. 12 15) in whose case we likewise encounter a scribal correction or gloss *הַנְּבִיא*. Lastly, Jehu, the son of Hanani, is in one place (2 Chr. 19 2) called *הַחֹזֶה*, though in the parallel passages 1 Ki. 16 7, 12 we find *הַנְּבִיא*, while the Greek version also has *ὁ προφήτης* in 2 Chr. 19 2, and the Vatican Codex omits the designation altogether in 1 Ki. 16 7—indications that point to the later neglect of once existent differentiations under the influence of the post-exilic view which favored the application of *נְבִיא* to all the men of the past who were portrayed as speaking in the name of Jahweh. That, however, the *חֹזֶה* just as the *רֹאֶה* was at one time sharply differentiated from the *נְבִיא* is shown by the equally persistent attaching of the latter term to certain personages of the older period of Hebrew history; as *e.g.* Nathan, who is called "the prophet" in no less than fourteen passages. Such a passage as 1 Chr. 29 29, where the three personages

²⁶ The instruments mentioned in 1 Sam. 10 5 are *נָבֵל*, *תֶּנָּה*, *חֶלֶל*, and *בָּטֹר*, practically the same instruments as in the case of Asaph, Heman, Jeduthun (1 Chr. 25 5) except that *מַצְלִיתִים* as *הַמַּצְלִיתִים* (1 Chr. 16 42) represents probably a later addition to the outfit. Note also that in the second version of the story of Saul's appearance among the prophets (1 Sam. 19 20) *נְבִיאִים* is used just as 1 Chr. 25 2, which suggests that the names of the instruments have been suppressed in this version. The existence of an Arabic equivalent *el-Hâzi*, designating in the pre-Islamic period a diviner of the same grade as the *Kâhin* and the *'Arrâb*, may be regarded as another proof of the antiquity of the *חֹזֶה* among the Hebrews; and, like the latter, the Arabic *Hâzi* is used for the diviner who predicts the future through the interpretation of external signs, as *e.g.* the flight of birds—not through an oracle directly given to him—and apparently also through the observation of the stars. See Hoffmann in *ZAW*, III. p. 92, and particularly the passage from Ibn el-Athîr, in which *'Arrâb* is explained as *el-munaġġim*, "the star diviner." Cf. also Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidenthums*, p. 134.

associated with the careers of Saul and David are given their distinctive titles — Samuel the *ro'ēh*, Nathan the *nābi*, and Gad the *hōzēh* — is particularly instructive as pointing to the distinction once recognized between these three terms. Even if the mention of Samuel be regarded as a late gloss, the juxtaposition of Gad and Nathan is justified by 2 Chr. 29 25, where we again find these two personages distinguished, Gad as גַּד הַמְלִיץ, and Nathan as נָתָן הַנָּבִיא, and the two represented as the chief assistants to David in the regulation of the affairs of his reign.²⁷ Taking Gad as the type of the הַמְלִיץ, we have distinct indications that he is consulted by David, as Samuel is by Saul, in order to determine what course he is to pursue. Thus when David comes to the king of Moab and asks that his parents should remain there “until I find out what Elohim will do to me” (1 Sam. 22 3), there is clearly implied an intention on the part of David to divine the future, and we accordingly find Gad telling him, “Do not remain in ambush, but get thee to the land of Judah” (1 Sam. 22 5). Again, we find Gad intervening when, after the counting of the people, David is portrayed as having become conscious of having sinned. The king appeals to Jahweh (2 Sam. 24 10), and through Gad the answer comes that one of three things is to happen: (1) seven years of famine, (2) flight from the enemy within three months, *i.e.* discomfiture in war, or (3) pestilence for three days. These utterances are precisely the kind of alternative interpretation of signs that we encounter in the various classes of omen-texts of Babylonia and Assyria, and it is only reasonable to conclude that the הַמְלִיץ, like the Babylonian *bārā*-priest, had recourse to some method of divination by means of which he secured specific answers to inquiries put to him. The הַמְלִיץ thus comes close to the הַנָּבִיא, but, if we may judge from Samuel and Gad as the typical *ro'ēh* and *hōzēh* respectively,

²⁷ The verse contains two scribal expansions (1) וְיָדָהּ יְהוָה דְּבָרָא, an explanation which a compiler found it necessary to add in order to indicate that the “commands” of David, Gad, and Nathan were in reality God’s commands, and (2) וְיָדָהּ יְהוָה דְּבָרָא is added to make it definite that Jahweh revealed himself through these two “prophets.” The gloss points again to the later abandonment of the distinction between the הַמְלִיץ and the הַנָּבִיא proper.

the former is a priest and diviner to whom any one may come and for pay obtain answers to an inquiry, whereas the latter is more specifically the official diviner of the court, accompanying the king on his expeditions. While too much stress must not be laid on such a distinction which may turn out to be accidental, yet it is worthy of note that Asaf, Heman, and Jeduthun, as *hōzīm*, are likewise officials, while Iddo and Shemajah "the prophet" (2 Chr. 12 15) in the days of Rehoboam correspond to Gad and Nathan in the days of David.

Is it possible to differentiate still further between the functions of the רֹאֶה and those of the חֹזֶה? George Adam Smith in his Introduction to the *Commentary on the Minor Prophets* (p. 17) renders the former as "seer" and the latter as "gazer." The distinction is justified in a measure by the way in which the underlying stems are used, for although in some passages, e.g. Prov. 22 29 29 20, חֹזֶה is used precisely as רֹאֶה,²⁸ in general it may be said that רֹאֶה is a deliberate act of looking at something or looking for something, whereas חֹזֶה is a recognition of something that comes to one's sight involuntarily. If רֹאֶה is the "inspector" who looks for a sign and interprets it, the חֹזֶה is the one to whom a sign appears, and who recognizes its meaning when it manifests itself. Hence the common meaning of the word is "to have a vision," i.e. to encounter or receive a sign of some kind. Now in ancient divination we find everywhere two classes of signs, one that we may group under voluntary divination, the other under involuntary divination.²⁹ In the case, e.g., of hepatoscopy, the liver is deliberately examined for the purpose of securing an answer, whereas, e.g., in the case of reading the signs of the heavens, or the signs involved in the flight of birds, or in the case of dreams or a vision, the signs themselves are independent of one's own volition. Astrology, therefore, and "bird-gazing," like dream interpreta-

²⁸ Even in these two passages, חֹזֶה might be rendered by "encounter," whereas if רֹאֶה were used, it might have the force of "seek out."

²⁹ See the author's paper, "Hepatoscopy and Astrology in Babylonia" (*Proc. Am. Philos. Society*, xlvii. pp. 646 sq.).

tion and visions, fall under the head of involuntary divination. We have one passage, Is. 47 13, where the verb is associated with the stars, **הַכְּבִירִי שָׁמַיִם הַחֲזִים בְּכֹכְבִּים**³⁰ and where one could hardly use the verb **רָאָה** without losing the full force conveyed in **חָזָה** of receiving a sign through the stars. From the application to involuntary divination, **חָזָה** would therefore be the proper designation of a vision of any kind that is sent to one, or that one encounters, and it is in this broad sense that the noun **חֲזוֹן** — occurring no less than thirty-five times in the Old Testament — is used. Since the "vision" was associated also with the legitimate prophets, the word **חֲזוֹן** lost its objectionable associations, and Jahwistic pietists had no hesitation in applying the term to the prophecies of Isaiah (1 1 22 1. 5, 2 Chr. 32 32), Nahum (1 1), Obadiah (1 1), and it will be recalled that in the Book of Daniel it is constantly applied to the visions of Daniel (8 1-2. 13. 15. 17. 26 9 21, etc.). But while this is true for **חֲזוֹן**, the term **חָזָה** retained more of its original flavor, and was generally applied in a contemptuous sense by the Jewish zealots to designate the illegitimate **נְבִיא**. This sense is implied also in the insult offered by Amaziah, the priest, to Amos (7 12), when, addressing him as **חָזָה**, he tells him to be off to Judah and earn his living there. It is more clearly brought out in Is. 30 10, where the prophet, putting himself in the position of those who consult **רָאִים** and **חֲנִיִּים**, rebukes the people for endeavoring to bribe them to announce only agreeable news, "who say to the *ro'im*, do not see, and to the *hōzīm*, do not gaze correct things for us," etc. There is likewise a slur intended in the expression of the Chronicler (2 Chr. 33 18), "and the rest of the words of Manasseh and his prayer to God and the words of the **חֲנִיִּים** who spoke to him in the name of Jahweh," etc. Manasseh, being a "wicked" king, those who announce decisions to him, though pretending to speak in the name of Jahweh are not

³⁰ Zimmern, *Beiträge*, ii. p. 85, note 8, suggests the possibility that the Babylonian *bārê* may be concealed here, just as Haupt proposed to read **בָּרִים** for **בָּרִים** in Isa. 44 25. The objection to the conjecture lies in the circumstance that parallel with "signs" and "enchantment" one expects the mention of a *form* of divination but not the designation of a class of diviners.

worthy (from the Chronicler's point of view), to be called נְבִיאִים.

The scribal correction of הָזֶה to נְבִיא in so many passages, as above pointed out, furnishes a further proof of the thesis that the term הָזֶה had a certain opprobrium attached to it. In Ezekiel also this opprobrium is apparent, since his references to הָנִיִּים are in practically all cases to those who deceive the people, as *e.g.* 13 16 הַחֲזִוִּים לִי, חֲזֹן שְׁלוֹם וְאֵין שְׁלוֹם, though it should be noted that in the same verse he introduces נְבִיאִים as a synonym of הָנִיִּים. The general attitude of Ezekiel, however, is shown by his association of the הָנִיִּים with קְסָמִים "diviners," *e.g.* 13 23 22 28.

The question naturally arises — why did נְבִיא finally come to be the term adopted for the true prophet of Jahweh, seeing that, as the passage in Samuel (1 Sam. 10 5) as well as other references show, the נְבִיא is likewise a figure belonging to the early period in the religious history of Israel, and a figure, moreover, that does not impress one as at one time standing on a much higher grade than the רֹאֶה or הָזֶה? Without entering into the vexed question of the etymology of the term, there is one feature which distinguishes the *nābī* even in the early stages of his development from the רֹאֶה and the הָזֶה. He does not have recourse to *external* means of divining the will and intention of the gods. Neither hepatoscopy nor the reading of the planets and stars is his province. He does not interpret signs and portents, but lays claim to a direct revelation. Like his modern prototype, — the howling dervish, — the ancient נְבִיא depended merely upon music and singing to put himself into an ecstatic condition and in this condition to obtain the revelation of the divine will.

Despite, therefore, the abyss separating the band of singing dervishes whom Saul encounters from such types as Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, they have this in common that they are free from the material means in the exercise of the functions that constitute so essential an ingredient of the equipment of the Babylonian *bārā*, whether in his original capacity as an "inspector" of the liver of the sacrificial animal, or in

his amplified capacity as the "gazer" and interpreter of the planets and stars, or as the one who reads the future through the action of bubbles of oil in a basin of water, or as the one who interprets the flight of birds or what not. The opposition to *all* kinds of divination — voluntary and involuntary — crops out frequently in the Pentateuchal codes,³¹ as well as to all kinds of incantations and necromancy, while in the prophets we encounter this opposition at almost every turn. It was natural, therefore, that the *רֹאֵה* and the *חֹזֶה* should have been rejected as unworthy designations for those to whom the distinction was assigned of being the direct mouthpiece of a Deity who was not to be worshiped through any material symbol, and who could not be approached through material devices. The *נָבִיא*, even in his most primitive form, was at least free from such objectionable associations, and, as a matter of fact, he follows along a line of development diverging sharply after a certain epoch from that of the ordinary diviner. He receives his oracles directly, and does not divine the will of the Deity through interpretation of omens. He is essentially, as Mohammed also called himself, a "warner,"³² and it is because his warnings necessarily reach out to the future that his utterances frequently become prophecies in the ordinary acceptation of the term — frequently, but by no means always. His main purpose is to speak out in the name of a Deity, to speak forth rather than to foretell. It is therefore a mistaken view of the later tradition which regarded the *רֹאֵה* as the prototype of the *נָבִיא*. The *ro'eh* is a diviner as is the *hōzeh*. Both make use of material means to divine the will and purpose of the gods, whereas the *נָבִיא* was always the direct mouthpiece of a god, and therefore became the type and the appropriate designation of the class of men that embodied the protest against all manner of divination.

³¹ See especially the long list, Deut. 18 10. 11.

³² Sura 22 48 29 49 38 70 46 8 51 60. 51 71 1, etc.

Some Gleanings from Pognon's ZKR Inscription

JAMES A. MONTGOMERY

PHILADELPHIA DIVINITY SCHOOL

THE learned French consul-general at Aleppo, M. Pognon, has again placed Semitic scholarship in his debt by a sumptuous volume containing 116 inscriptions, mostly Syriac, collected by him during a term of years in northern Mesopotamia and Syria.¹ And he has presented Biblical scholarship with the remains of a long Hebræo-Aramaic inscription, whose character and importance place it in the same category as the Senjirli inscriptions, while it offers more points of contact with the language, history, and religion of the Old Testament than do those monuments of more northerly Syria.² Pognon has provided his inscriptions with ample commentaries. I would offer some additional notes on the special inscription in question, that of "ZKR king of Hamath and La'ash."³

The remains of the monument in question consist of four blocks of stone, once constituting part of a monolith. The topmost stone exhibits in high relief the feet and a portion of the robe of a human figure; the upper portion of the stele has accordingly disappeared. From these remains of the figure, the discoverer calculates that the monument once possessed a height of at least 2.10 meters. The two inferior blocks present on their front a fragmentary inscription of 17 lines. The continuation of the inscription appears upon the

¹ *Inscriptions sémitiques de la Syrie, de la Mésopotamie et de la région de Mossoul*. Imprimerie Nationale, Paris, 1907(-8).

² Inscription No. 86, and Plates IX, X, XXXV, XXXVI.

³ Pognon will not tell where the inscription, found in 1903, was discovered, as he desires to reserve further explorations on the spot for himself. He gives the sole information that it was found about 200 kilometers from the Mediterranean.

narrow face of the left hand side of the four blocks, and we obtain here 28 partial lines of inscription; Pognon estimates that with the loss of the upper portion of the stele more than 30 lines are missing on the side. These are minimum figures for the extent of the inscriptions, as we do not know whether the monument was not of greater length than the present remains allow us to estimate.

The inscription on the face of the monument records how ZKR,⁴ king of Hamath and La'ash (?),⁵ was besieged when king of Hazrak (Ḥazrak, the Biblical Ḥadrak) by a coalition of probably seventeen kings, led by "Bar-hadad son of Hazael, king of Aram." The investment by the besiegers was so strong that the city appeared doomed, when ZKR took recourse to his god Beēlšamayn in supplication. The latter answered him "through seers and soothsayers," and promised him deliverance. The history of the deliverance is not given on the present remains, and it doubtless once appeared on the side of the missing upper fragments of the monument. What is left of this inscription on the side evidently described ZKR's extension and consolidation of his kingdom and his pious erection of numerous temples, and it concludes with the customary detailed imprecation against any who would lay sacrilegious hands upon the monument.

Fortunately, despite the present lacunæ at the ends of the lines, the inscription on the face is practically wholly recoverable. Despite Pognon's insight, some of these lacunæ call for further ingenuity in the restitution of the original, and I will consider first certain of these passages.

The first two lines are as follows :

---- [נ]צבא וי שם זכר מלך [ח]מת ולעש לאלור
 ---- נה זכר מלך חמת ולעש אש ענה אנה ו

At the end of the first line is a blank where at least four letters must once have stood, while the first letter of line 2 is almost obliterated. For the balance of this line Pognon

⁴ Pognon vocalizes "Zakir." "Zakar" is equally possible.

⁵ Dussaud, in a review in *Revue Archéologique*, 1908, i, p. 222 ff., identifies this place with the Luḫuti of the Assyrian records.

has not been at all successful in his interpretation. In his review of this new discovery, Dussaud would supply at the end of line 1 באשרא, and read the first word in line 2 זנה (the most likely reading for the initial character), *i.e.* "in this place." But this restoration leaves the following phrase, "ZKR king of Hamath and La'ash," hanging in the air. Lidzbarski suggests,⁶ as an alternative to Dussaud's reading, the possibility that the first word in line 2 is אנה, making the line read, "And I, Z. etc., was אנה," the אנה being repeated after good Syriac idiom at the end of the sentence.⁷ But as we expect an expressed passage from the third person of line 1 to the first person of line 2, I would suggest that the lacuna contained a verb to the effect that the king wrote the following inscription: it is possible then that the reading was וכתבנה. The waw-consecutive idiom appears below in the inscription, and for this transitive use of כתב cf. lines 14, 15 of the second column. We are told then that ZKR both erected the stele and composed the inscription.

In line 2 the phrase אש ענה evidently means "humble man," as I observe Dussaud and Lidzbarski have already remarked. Dussaud regards ענה as the equivalent of the Biblical עני, "pieux," and draws some interesting conclusions in comparative religion from this appearance of a term so characteristic of the Old Testament piety. My own preference for the understanding of the word, adopted before seeing Dussaud's and Lidzbarski's reviews, is that it corresponds to the Hebrew עני, "poor," or "of humble origin."⁸ This statement agrees with the notable fact that ZKR gives no pedigree for himself, and was evidently a nobody. We may also recall how the Semitic kings were proud of boasting that their title to the throne came direct from Deity, and was not mediated through secular descent, even if they possessed royal birth.

⁶ In a review in *Literarisches Zentralblatt*, 1908, no. 18, col. 582 ff.

⁷ The blank at the end of line 1 may have contained an epithet of the preceding divine name אליר. Oddly enough a blank appears again after the same word in col. ii, 24.

⁸ It is the Syriac passive participle of the Peal.

At the end of line 3 and the beginning of line 4 we have doubtless to read **על חורך**, as Dussaud and Lidzbarski have also observed. I would conclude that Hazrak was the beginning of ZKR's kingdom, and that the missing part of the stele gave an historical account of how he came to be king of the more important cities of Hamath and La'ash, from which he took his royal title.

In lines 4 f. we are told how Bar-hadad, king of Aram, formed a large coalition against ZKR. There follows the list of the kings; they are: Bar-hadad and his army; BRGŠ and his army; the king of Kûe, etc.; the king of 'Amk, etc.; the king of Gurgum, etc.; the king of Sam'al, etc.; the king of מל (rightly identified by Dussaud with the Armenian city, Milid [Greek, Militene, the modern Malatia], known from the Assyrian annals), etc.⁹ A lacuna extending the length of a full line (in lines 7, 8) follows the naming of these seven kings. Then toward the end of line 8 appears the numeral **שבעת**, "seven"; the following word may be restored as **מלכין**, so that the end of line 8 would read, "and seven kings." I find by careful calculation, granting three letters to the name of each city, that we can fill up the lacuna in lines 7, 8, with the thrice-repeated formula, "and the king of X and his army." Adding together the seven specified kings, the seven unspecified kings in line 8, and the hypothetical three suggested for the lacuna, we obtain the sum seventeen, and this enables us to restore the numeral at the end of line 4 and at beginning of line 5, in the first element of which only the initial **ש** is preserved, to **שבעת עשר**; i.e. the coalition was composed of seventeen states. This disposes of Pognon's doubt, p. 160, whether we have to read in lines 4, 5, "thirteen" (a possible **שלשא** for **תלתא**), "sixteen," "seventeen," or "eighteen" (a possible **שמניה** for **תמניה**).

For the lacuna at end of line 2 and at beginning of line 3, I would suggest reading **ויערני**; Dussaud proposes **והכברני**. A like lacuna in lines 11, 12 might be filled out with **וידבר**, if we may propose this Hebrew verb for our inscription;

⁹ See the maps presented by Dussaud; also the map in *KAT*³.

Dussaud suggests ויהודע. In the second column, line 21 f., I would suggest reading: מן ישלח ב[ה ידה], "whoever will lay his hand upon it."

Below, in line 26, in the list of gods, the strange group of letters בעלע is to be interpreted by supplying ש in the following lacuna, which gives בעלעש; *i.e.* the Baal of La'ash; compare the Baal of Hermon, etc. The single writing of the final and the initial ל has its parallel in ברכב for בר רכב, in the Panammu Inscription, line 19, possibly in the Punic אדרמן, for אדר רמן,¹⁰ while the same phenomenon appears in a word which I now proceed to comment upon.¹¹

In the first column, line 5, appears the name of a king, ברנש, which Pognon quite naturally transliterates Bar-gaš, the second component being presumably some unknown deity, as in Bar-hadad. But another possibility is open: the word may stand, with the single writing of the ר (as in ברכב), for Bar-RGŠ. I would suggest that this second term represents an epithet of Hadad or some other storm-god, to be vocalized *raggāš*, "the Thunderer"; the name means then, "the Son of the Thunderer." Or, if it is preferred to understand the first element in this name and in Bar-hadad as the same as the deity known in the Assyrian as Bir,¹² we may obtain a verbal formation, Bir-regaš, "Bir has thundered"; cf. the Biblical רעמיה. The speculation on the name is of interest, because it brings us into touch with the obscure epithet *Boanepyes*, applied by Jesus, according to Mk. 3 17, to the brother apostles James and John, and interpreted by the evangelist as *υἱὸν βροντῆς*, *i.e.* "sons of thunder," as from רנש בנ. The term and its interpretation

¹⁰ Lidzbarski, *Handbuch d. Nordsem. Epigraphik*, p. 209 (where the author offers another but not so simple interpretation).

¹¹ It may be observed here that our inscription corroborates the Biblical spelling חזאל as against the rarer חוראל. The latter is a schoolmaster's spelling, and should not be given preference in the lexicons. In general the elder usage spelled compound names as one word; *e.g.* ביתאל. For the manuscript spelling of this word, see Franz Delitzsch in his preface to Baer's text of Daniel, p. v, and Berliner, *Targum Onkelos*, ii, p. 144.

¹² For this and various forms, see *KAT*³, p. 446; Jastrow, *Religion Baby-loniens u. Assyriens*, i, p. 146.

have produced much skepticism on the part of modern scholars, largely because there is no precedent for this particular expression.¹³ But our Aramaic word gives the desired precedent, and it may not have already disappeared from usage when Jesus, not without humor, applied it to his two apostles. There remains the doubt whether the root רנש may be used of thunder. But there is no reason why the evangelist should have gratuitously offered an impossible interpretation¹⁴; such a meaning gives adequate interpretation of the name before us; and moreover, if the root refers to commotion rather than noise (though compare the connotations of רמם), it is to be borne in mind that the mythological ideas of the storm-god stress not so much the noise but the fury and onslaught of the heavenly war.

On the historical side, this inscription corroborates the Biblical name for the Damascene king Ben-hadad, which is but the Hebrew interpretation of Bar-hadad. The question now arises how are we to explain the Assyrian equivalent Bir-idri. But the Biblical tradition can no longer be rejected.¹⁵ Also, the Ben-hadad son of Hazael of 2 Ki. 13, and Am. 14, is now vouched for, and this disposes of skepticism concerning the Biblical datum, based upon the Assyrian reference to a Damascene king, Mari; thus Cheyne denies that Ben-hadad was the right name of Hazael's son.¹⁶ The reference to Hazrak-Hadrak must also cause a revision of critical views concerning the oracle in Zech. 91. The political importance of the north Syrian states disappeared with the Assyrian conquests in the latter part of the eighth

¹³ See the review of the theories in *Enc. Bib. s.v.*

¹⁴ It is another question whether Jesus himself applied the epithet; but I see no reason to doubt the gospel tradition. The peculiar Βοαρρηγες for Βερρηγες, which is expected, is, I think, due to some popular Hellenistic etymologizing on the word; it was connected with the verb βοάω, "call." There is an interesting instance of a similar popular play upon a foreign word in the Prayer-Book Psalter, where "renegades" has become "runagates," — which is by no means a bad interpretation!

¹⁵ The name Bar-hadad appears more than once in the Syriac literature; see v. Baudissin, in Hauck's *Real-Encyklopädie*, vii, p. 284.

¹⁶ *Enc. Bib.* col. 532. May Mari be a Damascene title, "milord"? Cf. ארני.

century, and this oracle, with its association of Hadrak and Damascus, must reasonably be assigned to that period.

As for the exact date of the inscription, we have no sure data. Lidzbarski argues, from the references in the Assyrian eponym canon to campaigns against Damascus and Hatarik (our Hazrak) in the years 773 and 772, for that date approximately for the events recorded in the inscription. But the Biblical datum, 2 Ki. 13 25, makes Jehoash of Israel the deliverer of his nation from Damascus. As his son, Jeroboam II, died in 745, and is given a reign of forty-one years,¹⁷ Israel's success over Damascus is to be assigned to the first part of the century or earlier. Damascus submitted to Adad-nirari III in 803, and we may suppose that the upstart ZKR's rise was due to the support of Assyria in its movements and diplomacies preceding the suppression of Damascus. The approximate date of 800 is thus offered. Further, if we may trust the datum in 2 Ki. 14 28 that Jeroboam II "recovered Damascus and Hamath," we may argue that ultimately Israel was among the foes which brought about the fall of ZKR's dynasty.

The Assyrian reference to a campaign against Hatarik belongs to a later period, when the kingdom of ZKR or its successors had fallen away from the Assyrian alliance, this becoming more and more the political drift of the Syrian states as the century advanced. It may be observed here that Bar-hadad appears as "king of Aram," the common Biblical term for the Damascene state.¹⁸

With regard to the philology of the inscription Pognon is doubtless right in claiming that it is the earliest Aramaic inscription, for he holds, with Halévy, that the Hadad and Panammu Inscriptions from Senjirli cannot be regarded as characteristically Aramaic, although in the Building Inscription and the fragments from Senjirli the Aramaic type is fully expressed. We find here the emphatic state, in **𐤀** for the singular, in **𐤁** for the plural; the plural in **𐤂** (but

¹⁷ 2 Ki. 14 28.

¹⁸ This specific use of Aram suggests that the Aramaean state of Damascus formed an enclave among the Hebræo-Canaanitish states of Syria.

cf. the Moabite dialect); the pronouns **אֲנִי**, **הֵמָּן**, **וְהֵנָּה**, and **וְהֵנָּה**; the relative particle **וְ**. But other phenomena exhibit the language as composite, with a very large Hebrew or Canaanitish element. This appears most notably in the use of the imperfect with the waw-consecutive, which occurs in col. 1, line 11, *bis*, and line 13. On the other hand, perfects with waw are used indiscriminately in historical narration. It becomes a question then whether we may too easily criticise cases of failure to recognize the usual rules of syntax for the consecution of tenses occurring in elder books of the Old Testament (*e.g.* in 1 Sam. 1), as though they were scribal intrusions from a later age when that syntactical idiom was disappearing from the Hebrew.

On the lexical side, omitting roots and words common to the Hebrew and the Aramaic, we find that the vocabulary of the former predominates. As words characteristic of the Hebrew I would cite:

הָלַץ: in sense of Hebrew Piel, "deliver."

חָרַץ: "trench"; probably corroborating the much-doubted reading **חָרַץ** in Dan. 9 25; cf. Assyrian *ḫariṣu* and Talmudic **חָרַץ**.

מַחֲנֶה: = **מַחֲנֶה**, Is. 44 13.

מַחֲנֶה: appearing in singular and plural with suffixes, **מַחֲנֶהּ**, **מַחֲנֶיהֶם**, hence feminine. In the Hebrew **מַחֲנֶה** appears as feminine in Ps. 27 3, 1 Chron. 11 15, and the plural in **וְהֵנָּה** occurs 13 times, along with masculine dual and plural forms. Also cf. **מַחֲנֶה** in Panammu Inscription, and in the name of a Carthaginian suburb. We have probably to recognize two words in Hebrew, masculine and feminine, **מַחֲנֶה** and **מַחֲנֶהּ**, the latter to be read in the two Biblical texts cited.

מָצַר: = Hebrew **מָצַר**; the Syriac root has a different meaning.

נָגַע: in Hafeḥ **נָגַע**, evidently in pregnant sense, "touch and remove."

נָשָׂא: Hebrew and Assyrian.

עָנָה: "humble" (at least in the Aramaic dialects the idea of lowliness appears only in reflexives).

רום: the Hafel agrees in meaning with the Hebrew Hifil as against the Syriac Afel.

For כתב with double accusative, col. ii, lines 14, 15, cf. Is. 44 5. אש, = איש, may not now, with the evidence of the Assouan papyri, be regarded as peculiarly Hebraic. The preposition אל, also occurring in the Hadad Inscription, is found in Aramaic elsewhere only in Papyrus Sachau. The accusative particle has the Phœnician spelling אית.

Words belonging distinctly to the Aramaic are:

ארק: = Hebrew ארץ.

[א]ב: "midst" so Pognon suggests; but נבל might be read.

נו: in נוה, "its midst."

קדם: preposition.

Thus the Hebrew has the predominance over the Aramaic by nine words to four.

This large element of Hebraism in our inscription, more pronounced than in the Senjirli monuments, opens up a wide perspective of the linguistic connections of Israel with central Syria, and so also of their ethnological and political affiliations. The ideal of a Hebrew kingdom stretching as far as the Euphrates, 1 Ki. 4 21, 24, Deut. 1 7, had at least plausibility, even if it was not realized, and interesting light is thrown upon the political relations of a David or a Jeroboam II with the kingdom of Hamath, 2 Sam. 8 9, 2 Ki. 14 28. The latest Senjirli Inscriptions indicate the final triumph of Aramaism in northern Syria, and so we may argue that the farther back we may go, the closer will the language of all Syria be found to approximate to that of Canaan. There also appears to be still earlier evidence than that of our monument for the presence of Aramaic in Syria, even in Canaan; namely, from Egyptian sources. Professor W. Max Müller has offered testimony for the presence of Aramaic forms of place-names in Shoshenk's list of cities captured in Israel's land, and even one instance for an Aramaic name in the reign of Ramses III.¹⁹

¹⁹ *Asien und Europa*, pp. 170 ff., 234, 235, note 2. Notice especially the evidence for the Aramaic זקלא and דרמשק.

Of great value and importance are the religious data of the monument. The god to whom the stele is dedicated is named אלור, which I doubt not is to be read El Ūr, or El Ūr.²⁰ The first element is the general Semitic word for god, and we have here a composite name exactly comparable to the Biblical El Shaddai and El Elyôn. I will leave the discussion of the word to Dr. Clay, who has found in this divine name some agreeable corroboration of certain theories of his concerning the early religion of Syria.²¹ Why the stone is dedicated to this deity is not evident, except on the supposition that he was the local divinity, for the king's special divine patron is Beēlšamayn, to whom he prays in his hour of need, and who reassures him through seers and brings him the desired succor. In the list of deities at the end of the second column, where their vengeance is invoked against any perpetrator of sacrilege, so far as the text is preserved, Beēlšamayn takes precedence, then comes El[ūr], and after a lacuna of the space of three letters, the Sun and Moon (in this order unique in Semitic inscriptions, although it is the order observed in the Old Testament, *e.g.* Hab. 3 11; Ps. 148 3); then after another blank "the gods of heaven [and the gods of] earth," — a most interesting distinction of deities; and finally the Baal of La'ash, as I have already proposed to read the broken word.

The appearance of Beēlšamayn, and his cardinal importance in the religion of the king, are facts of great importance for the moot question of the age and origin of that deity. This is the earliest appearance of the god in the monuments. On account of the lateness of the Phœnician texts in which Balsamem appears, F. Jeremias has suggested that he was introduced from the Greek theology: "Die Verehrung eines Ba'al, welcher ausdrücklich Himmelsherr (Ba'al-šamēm) genannt wird, ist erst aus sehr später Zeit bezeugt und mög-

²⁰ Lidzbarski would read ALVR, and suggests a Hittite origin. Hartmann's reading in *OLZ*, 1908, col. 341, אלור (which he understands as *il-wadd*) cannot be maintained, as ו and ו are very clearly distinguished in this inscription.

²¹ Dr. Clay's discussion will appear in a forthcoming volume entitled, *Amurru, the Home of the Northern Semites*.

licher Weise unter griechischem Einfluss aufgekommen." ²² But the Cilician inscription published by the present writer, ²³ which is doubtless not later than the Persian period, and which contains the name, overthrows that hypothesis.

Lidzbarski has argued that the name came in under the influence of the Persian religion. ²⁴ But this view he has more recently abandoned, ²⁵ because of Esarhaddon's reference to a Phœnician god Balsameme. ²⁶ He now argues for a Hittite origin of the divine name, because of its occurrence as an epithet of the sun-god and the thunder-god among the deities invoked by the Hittite king in his treaty with Ramses II. ²⁷ But the Hittite origin remains to be proved, for the Egyptian monuments of the XVIIIth and XIXth dynasties show that the term was a current epithet for Canaanitish deities; thus Rešpu is called the lord of heaven, and 'Anat and Kḏš respectively the lady of heaven. ²⁸

There is nothing in the name Baal which should confine it especially to a terrestrial deity, as Robertson Smith's argumentation leads the student to conclude. ²⁹ With the rapid retrogression in the dating of Beëlšamayn as a known god, it looks as if von Baudissin's position is the more reasonable one, that it is a term which goes back to quite primitive Semitic antiquity, — withal that that scholar goes too far in arguing that the terrestrial Baals were but local differentiations of the original celestial Baal. ³⁰ A "Lord

²² In de la Saussaye, *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte*, i. p. 232.

²³ *JAOS*, 1907, p. 164.

²⁴ See his essay, *Balsamem*, in his *Ephemeris d. nordsemitischen Epigraphik*, i. p. 250.

²⁵ *Ephemeris*, ii. p. 250.

²⁶ See *KAT*³, p. 357.

²⁷ This list can be seen in Müller, *Bündnisvertrag Ramses' II u. des Chetiter Königs*, *MVAG*, 1902, no. 5, p. 17.

²⁸ Professor W. Max Müller has kindly supplied me with these references; see Lanzoni, *Dizionario di Mitologia Egizia*, p. 483, and *Asien u. Europa*, p. 311 (where the hieroglyphed representation of the god is given), for Rešpu; Lanzoni, p. 139, for 'Anat; and *Asien u. Europa*, p. 315, note 3, for Kḏš.

²⁹ *Religion of the Semites*, 1889, p. 96.

³⁰ See his article *Baal und Bel*, in Hauck's *Real-Encyklopädie*, especially pp. 328 f., 331.

of the heavens" does not imply in itself a higher and monotheistic religion; on the other hand, however, such a religion requires that kind of a deity as a stepping stone to higher stages.³¹ A Baal-šaphon, "lord of the celestial north,"³² and probably Baal-zebul, "lord of the divine dwelling,"³³ offer ancient evidence for the existence of loftier ideas in connection with the term Baal than those which it has been the wont in recent years to associate with what has come to be regarded as a title peculiarly appropriate to a telluric deity.

If we grant any historic reliability to Gen. 14, we find a similar phrase in Melchizedek's blessing by "El Elyon, possessor of heaven and earth" (v. 19, cf. v. 22). And I am strongly inclined to think that in this fragment of ancient Canaanitish religion, as I believe it to be, in place of the unique and colorless form קנה, "possessor," once stood בעל שמים וארץ; El Elyon was Baal of heaven and earth. It is patent why Baal was later exchanged for an inoffensive term. And further, we may understand how this same name was originally acceptable to a possibly lofty Yahwism, for Yahweh might be identified with a Baal of the heavens.

Finally reference is due to one passage in our monument which throws light upon the religious practice of ZKR and his people. The Baal of heaven spoke to him, he tells us, ביד חזון וביד עדרן, "through seers and" an evidently parallel class of diviners (col. i, line 12).³⁴ The first term is the good Biblical word that preceded nabi in popular use.

³¹ See Baentsch's remarks, *Altorientalischer u. israelitischer Monotheismus*, p. 75 ff.

³² Ex. 14 2; also the same name in Phœnicia, iii Rawlinson, 9, 27; Sargon's Annals, 234; and another instance cited in *KAT*², p. 357; also the Egyptian Ba'alat-šaphon, Müller, *op. cit.*, 357.

³³ See Cheyne, art. *Baal-zebul* in *Enc. Bib.*

³⁴ These words are participles. חזון being written *plene*, in contrast to the other plurals, we may assume a diphthong, something like what is vouched for in the Biblical Aramaic; e.g. חזון, Ezra 4 12 (see Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Biblisch-Aramäischen*, p. 80). For the trilateral form עדרן, cf. the Ketib to Dan. 4 4 5, עלילין, for Kerē, ערין, and see Nöldeke, *Syrische Grammatik*, § 21 D.

But who are the עֲדָן? The participle must be connected with the Arabic root 'adda, "to count." Whether the Biblical-Aramaic עֲדָן and the Syriac 'eddānā, "a period of time, season," with the composite beth 'eddānā, "counting house," and the Hebrew עֲדָה, "woman's period," should be directly referred to the root ועד,³⁵ or to the root עֲדָד,³⁶ is open to question; but the Pe-Waw and Double-'Ayin roots have so often a common theme of thought, that the appearance of the root עֲדָד in the Aramaic is not strange. These persons, therefore, are literally "counters," and we have probably to identify them with astrologers.³⁷ Dr. Jastrow has pointed out to me that a similar phrase exists in the Babylonian, in (*amel*) *dupšar mināti*, generally translated "the mathematicians," but for which the context requires a class of diviners.³⁸ These "people of numbers" are the same as our "counters." There is also a possible appearance of the word in the Old Testament. The father of the prophet Azariah, 2 Chron. 15 1, and another prophet in 2 Chron. 28 9, are named 'Oded, a name for which an etymology is wanting. May not the word have been an official title? Azariah was perhaps the son of an עֲדָד, an astrologer, and the other may have only been known to tradition by the same official title. In process of time, with the obsolescence of the term and function, עֲדָד came to be interpreted as a personal name; the unnamed prophet became Oded, and the other was given an Oded for father. It is through a similar confusion that in 2 Chron. 33 19 "the words of the seers" became "the words of Hozai."

ADDITIONAL NOTE. — Since writing the above, I have found in the early Arabic geographer Ibn Khurdadhbih (ninth century) a reference to the town of Bal'ās as one of the districts of Ḥimṣ in Syria (see De Goeje, *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, vi, p. 76; translation, p. 55). Yaḳūt also refers

³⁵ So Jensen, *Zeitschrift f. Assyriologie*, vii. p. 215.

³⁶ So for עֲדָה the New Hebrew Lexicon by Brown-Driver-Briggs.

³⁷ I had come to this conclusion before seeing that Dussaud had also reached it.

³⁸ The phrase occurs in a text of Nabonidus, *V. Rawlinson*, 65, 32 a; transliteration and translation *KB*, iii., part 2, pp. 110 f.

to the same place in his Geographical Dictionary as a district of Ḥimṣ, and under the title *Balās* specifies a town lying ten miles from Damascus — doubtless the same as Bal'ās (see Wüstenfeld, *Yacut*, i. pp. 722, 708; the later epitome *Marāsīd* repeats Yaḳūt). This Bal'ās is to be identified with the בַּלְעַשׁ of our text, *i.e.* with לַעַשׁ, the place coming to be called after its deity as in the case of the neighboring Baalbec. La'ash therefore lay between Ḥimṣ and Damascus, ten (long) miles from the latter place. Hamath and La'ash would then have been the northern and southern capitals of Zakar's kingdom.

A further note, suggested by my investigation of Yaḳūt, though somewhat far afield, may be of interest. He records another Balās lying between the Mesopotamian cities Wāsiṭ and Baṣrā. In this place we may find the ancient Babylonian Lagash (= לַעַשׁ), and suppose it, too, came to be named after its Baal. Baal-Lagash indeed would be parallel to the old local deity, Nin-girsu, *i.e.* Lord of Girsu, the latter being the name of one of the quarters of the city, and the district being called "the land of Nin-girsu" (see Jastrow, *Religion Babyloniens u. Assyriens*, i, p. 56 f.). This identification shows that the old name Lagash survived into late Arabic times. I must leave it to others to pursue the attractive correspondence between the Mesopotamian and the Syrian La'ash (Lagash), and Ba'al-La'ash.

The Unity of the Sanctuary in the Light of the Elephantine Papyri.

JAMES A. KELSO

WESTERN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, PITTSBURGH, PA.

THE existence of a shrine of the God Yahu or Yahweh, at Yeb (Greek: Syene) in Upper Egypt, was first made known to the modern world by the publication of the Assouan papyri in 1906.¹ Two of these papyri contain an incidental allusion to this Jewish sanctuary; in both instances it is mentioned as the boundary of a piece of property — “below it a shrine of Yahu the God” and “east of it a shrine of the God Yahu.”² About this mere mention of a Jewish place of worship at once grew up a number of hypotheses as to its nature. Sayce and Cowley translated אֶנְיָרָא by ‘chapel,’ a modern, but from a critical standpoint a colorless, rendering, because it does not determine whether it was a high place, a synagogue, or a temple. Schürer³ advocated the interpretation of אֶנְיָרָא in the sense of בֵּמָה or high place, falling back on the later usage of the former term. In the Targums and post-Biblical Hebrew it is used exclusively of heathen altars, but this does not necessarily settle its earlier usage. Words, innocent enough at first, often take on obnoxious shades of meaning and are discarded. To point to a well-known example will suffice: בַּעַל in O. T. is changed to בַּשֵּׁת in proper names, e.g. אִישׁ בַּשֵּׁת to אֶשְׁבַּעַל; that in the days of the golden future, Israel will address her

¹ Sayce and Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri Discovered at Assuan*, London, 1906.

² E 14, J 6.

³ *ThLZ*, 1907, p. 4, “Aber das Wort an sich heisst nur Altar (eigentlich Steinhäuf). Ein *chapel* ist dabei nicht notwendig. Das Wesentliche ist jedenfalls der Altar unter freiem Himmel.”

God as אֱלֹהִים and not אֱלֹהִי is another significant instance, Hos. 2 18 (Eng. 2 16). Staerk⁴ in turn regarded the אֱלֹהִים as a synagogue. While the data of the Assouan papyri, consisting of a mere allusion, were too meager to determine the exact nature of the sanctuary, the details of the Elephantine papyri show clearly that it was neither a high place nor a synagogue, and warn us once more against the danger of making large and sweeping inductions on the basis of a very few facts.

The first of the three Elephantine papyri⁵ contains a description of this Jewish shrine, which completely shatters the views of both Schürer and Staerk. It is a letter, addressed by the leaders of the Jewish colony on the island of Elephantine in Upper Egypt to Bagoses, the Persian governor of Judæa. It is a complaint against a certain Waidrang, commandant of the forces at the fortress of Yeb, which was located on this island. Waidrang, incited by the priest of the Egyptian god Khnub, had destroyed a sanctuary of the God Yahu. Thus the writer is led to describe this shrine: "They entered into that temple, they razed it to the ground. And the pillars of stone, which were there, they destroyed, and it happened that the five stone doors built of hewn stone, which were in that temple, they destroyed, their capitals and their hinges in blocks of marble, the former of bronze, the roof entirely of cedar beams, together with the plaster of the walls of the outer court, and other things which were there, they have burned all with fire. And the basins of gold and silver and the articles

⁴ Staerk, *Die Jüdisch-Aramäischen Papyri von Assuan*, Bonn, 1907, p. 21. "In der That kann hier nicht ein offener Altar, sondern nur ein Diasporatempel (Synagoge?) gemeint sein."

⁵ Sachau, *Drei Aramäische Urkunden aus Elephantine*, Berlin, 1907. It is well to keep a few facts in mind in regard to these documents. In Feb., 1906, Dr. Otto Rubensohn, who had been excavating among the ruins of the southern extremity of the Island of Elephantine, discovered a number of papyri in the débris. To this find belong the three which are now commonly termed the Elephantine papyri. There are good reasons for associating these documents with the Assouan group, and assigning them to the same original collection.

which were in the temple, all of them they have taken and appropriated for themselves" (i. l. 9-12).

The sanctuary described in the above words was no mere high place or altar. The pillars of stone were supports of the roof, which carried beams of the costly cedar. They were in all probability arranged in colonnades, as was usually the case in Egyptian temples. The five doors of hewn stone with hinges of bronze imply a building of some size. The use of cedar and marble as building material, and the possession of vessels of silver and gold, suggest considerable wealth. Further, the use of the word **אֲנוּרִי** for the Egyptian sanctuaries destroyed by Cambyses makes for the translation of this term by the English word temple,⁶ and leads to the conception of a sanctuary of some size, although the imagination is to be restrained from picturing it with the dimensions of the great Egyptian structures. Lagrange, in an article in the *Revue Biblique*, scarcely does justice to the description of the Jewish sanctuary, as he overemphasizes the reference which Bagoses makes to it in his reply. The Persian official calls it a **בֵּית מִדְבָּחָא**, an *altar-house*; and making this the criterion for the exegesis of the description of Letter I, the distinguished French *savant* maintains that the shrine consisted of an altar, enclosed by walls and a colonnade which shielded it from the gaze of others than worshipers.⁷ He supports his contention by saying there was no need for a *naos* to the sanctuary, as the Jews of Elephantine did not possess the ark of the covenant. Are we absolutely sure that they had installed no substitute to symbolize the presence of their national God? or, like the temples of Zerubbabel and Herod, may this one not have had an empty *adytum*? for in both these sanctuaries the Holy of Holies might be correctly described in the words of Tacitus *inania arcana*. Fortunately for our present purposes, it is not necessary to learn the exact size of this Jewish temple, but one feature is

⁶ **אֲנוּרִי אֱלֹהֵי מִצְרַיִם** (i. l. 14). We believe Nöldeke is justified in terming it a "groses glänzendes Heiligtum," *ZA*, 1908, p. 202.

⁷ *Rev. Biblique*, 1908, pp. 337 f. Lagrange's own words are "une enceinte fermée ayant au centre un autel."

certainly established: it was not an altar under the open heaven, as Schürer originally maintained.

It is still clearer that it was in no sense a prototype of the synagogue. The colony claims that, from the fourteenth year of Darius until the seventeenth, no meal offerings, incense, or burnt offerings had been laid upon the altar.⁸ As the service of the synagogue consisted in the reading of the Scriptures, prayer, and a sermon, the mere mention of sacrifices excludes any association of the sanctuary at Elephantine with the buildings for public worship which became a feature of later Judaism.

What bearing has the discovery of the existence of this Jewish temple in Upper Egypt on that question fundamentally important for O. T. criticism, namely, *the unity of the sanctuary?* We have but to recall the fact that the place of sacrifice is the theme of the opening chapter of that epoch-making book by Wellhausen — *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*, and to remind ourselves that his contentions in regard to the view which the Hebrews took of the unity of the sanctuary constitute the keystone of the arch which he has reared. Scarcely had the Elephantine papyri been published when investigators began to study this problem in the light of new knowledge. That Nestor of Semitic scholars, Nöldeke,⁹ has maintained that our papyri contain, as it were, a *Q.E.D.* for the Wellhausen theory. He confesses that he has long struggled against adopting the Graf-Wellhausen hypothesis, but his hesitation has finally been overcome by the evidence of these newly discovered Aramaic documents. He now feels assured that the Pentateuch did not reach its present form until the days of Ezra.

⁸ i. l. 21. מנחה ולבונה ועולה; l. 25. ומזבח ולבונה ועולה. These three forms of sacrifice are enumerated again in ii. l. 20, the burnt offering is mentioned again in ii. l. 24, while the general term רבחין (Heb. ובהים) is added in ii. l. 26. Two of these kinds of sacrifice are alluded to in the reply of Bagoses and Delaiah, ומזבח ולבונה, iii. l. 9.

⁹ ZA, 1909, p. 203. "Die Rezeption des Pentateuchs in seiner definitiven Gestalt war eben noch nicht zu ihnen gedrungen, wenigstens nicht als für sie bindend anerkannt. Damit fällt jede Möglichkeit, jenen Abschluss des Pentateuchs in eine ältere Zeit zu legen als die Ezra's."

Unfortunately Nöldeke merely states his conclusions without showing the steps by which he advances to them. It is quite evident that he has drawn his inference from the complete disregard of the Deuteronomic command (Dt. 12 5 ff.) by the Jews of Elephantine.

Müller,¹⁰ on the other hand, has denied the cogency of Nöldeke's argument, by drawing our attention to the erection of the temple of Onias at Leontopolis in the middle of the second century (B.C. 152). He emphasizes his contention by pointing to its existence at the same time with that of the great sanctuary at Jerusalem, and even to 73 A.D. Let it be remembered that the temple of Onias was modeled after that of Jerusalem, its ministers were priests and Levites, that it was recognized as semi-legitimate on account of the well-known passage in Isaiah (19 18 ff.). Müller's argument, then, is that the mere existence of a Jewish sanctuary in Upper Egypt in the fifth century B.C. does not, *per se*, prove either the non-existence of the Pentateuch or the ignorance of the law of the unity of the sanctuary on the part of the Elephantine colony, because the temple of Leontopolis enjoyed a position of semi-legitimacy at a later period.

In turn, Stähelin¹¹ has criticised the position of Müller, maintaining the impossibility of bringing the sanctuary at Elephantine and the temple of Onias within the same category. His grounds are twofold: (1) the shrine at Elephantine was not a temple at all, but merely a high place (מזבח); (2) it was founded by the exiles to Egypt after Nebuchadnezzar's victory; in other words, by the lower strata of society (the *élite* of the nation were taken to Babylon, Jer. 29 1 ff., Ez. 17 3-6). On the other hand, the temple at Leontopolis was founded by Onias, a scion of the legitimate high priestly family of Joshua ben Jozadak. Stähelin argues that the rank of the founder gave a certain kind of legitimacy to the sanctuary at Leontopolis.¹² But Stähelin's

¹⁰ *WZKM*, xxi. pp. 416 ff.

¹¹ *ZATW*, 1908, pp. 180 f.

¹² On the temple of Onias, cf. Josephus, *Ant.*, xiii. 3. Onias fled to Egypt on account of persecutions at home, and espousing the cause of Ptolemy VI, Philometer, in his struggle with his brother, was given the privilege of repair-

position may be disregarded without hesitation, as he is certainly incorrect in styling the Elephantine sanctuary a high place, and most probably wrong in holding that it was founded by the exiles to Egypt whom Jeremiah denounces (Jer. 42-44). There are as good, if not better, grounds for holding that the Jews at Elephantine were originally mercenaries in the service of the Egyptian kings, and that the colony owed its origin to Psammetichus I (663-610 B.C.).

These writers, whose views have just been presented, have missed the bearing of the facts of our papyri on the principle of the unity of the sanctuary, by overemphasizing the mere existence of another Jewish shrine, contemporaneous with the Temple at Jerusalem. The erection of this sanctuary in Upper Egypt in itself does not necessarily imply ignorance of the law of the central and only legitimate sanctuary, as laid down in Deuteronomy or assumed in the Priestly Code. Still less does it prove the non-existence of the law, for the *terminus ad quem* of the promulgation of the Deuteronomic Code is by common consent 621 B.C. It is possible to hold three alternative opinions in regard to the attitude of the Jews of Elephantine to the principle under discussion. (1) They were acquainted with the law, but disregarded it with the conscious purpose of adjusting themselves to a practical situation; (2) with a full knowledge, they had no scruples on the subject; (3) they were absolutely ignorant of the operation of such a principle in the religion of their fathers. By confining our attention merely to the existence of this sanctuary in Egypt, we shall never be able to determine which of these three alternatives is correct. There are other features in these letters which suggest that the third alternative is the most reasonable view of the situation.

The naïveté of the leaders of the Elephantine colony is surprising. Three years previously they had addressed the

ing a ruined temple of Bubastis in the town of Leontopolis, and using it for the observance of Jewish rites and ceremonies. Cf. Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vol. iii. ch. 2; Wellhausen, *Isr. u. jüd. Geschichte*, p. 248; Willrich, *Juden u. Griechen*, pp. 86 f.

high priest, appealing for assistance in rebuilding their temple which their enemies had destroyed. They evidently expected that swift succor would come to them from their Judæan brethren. To get an idea of the childlike naïveté of their procedure, let us imagine an analogous case, such as an application for aid from a Protestant communion addressed to the Roman Pontiff, or from English dissenters to the supreme prelate of the Anglican Church. Such appeals would be regarded as signs at least of ignorance or arrogance, if not of mental weakness. This Aramaic letter (i) bears no marks of arrogance, but is an earnest and pitiful appeal for help at a critical juncture. "Also since the day of Tammuz of the fourteenth year of Darius, even until this day we have worn sackcloth and fasted, our wives have been as widows, we have not anointed ourselves with oil nor drunk wine" (i. 19-21). In this spirit they wrote in 408 B.C., and it is most natural to suppose that their appeal to Jehohanan, the high priest, and his brother Ostanès in 411 B.C., was couched in similar language and prompted by the same spirit (i. 17).

From what we know of the position of Ezra and of Judaism since his day, we can imagine how Jehohanan and his *confrères* laughed in their sleeves at the simplicity of the Jews at Elephantine. The last thing they would dream of doing would be the rebuilding of a shrine, which would be a rival to their own in the affections of the men of the Egyptian diaspora. No! according to their ideas the temple of Yahu at Yeb was an illegitimate sanctuary; it had better lie in ruins. So no answer was sent to the appeal, silence being the best way out of a dilemma.

If we read between the lines, we see that at last the truth dawned upon the minds of the leaders at Elephantine, and they had an inkling of the situation in Palestine. The second letter, beseeching assistance, is now sent after a lapse of three years, not to the high priest, but to Bagoses, the leading Persian official at Jerusalem, and to Delaiah and Shelemaiah, the sons of Sanballat, who figures in the O. T. as the head of the Samaritan community. The former might be

expected to assist them, because of the attitude of toleration assumed by the Persian monarchs towards all the religions of their domains. In fact, the act of the Egyptians, in destroying the Jewish temple, would be a serious breach of the peace in the eyes of the Persian law. On the other hand, Delaiah and Shelemiah would be delighted in assisting those who worshiped Yahweh at a shrine other than the Temple at Jerusalem. It would be in line with the policy of their father, Sanballat.

Another significant feature of the colony at Elephantine is that every indication points to the purity of the cultus as practiced in their temple. They were not semi-heathen Jews from the Northern Kingdom, who worshiped Yahweh with the syncretistic rites of Baal. They can scarcely be descendants of the fugitives to Egypt who dragged Jeremiah along with them, and despite his exhortations to a purer worship emphatically announced their continued allegiance to the queen of heaven (Jer. 44 15 ff.); it is difficult to believe that this class of Jews would ever build a temple of Yahweh. The names of the colonists are either identical with those in Ezra-Nehemiah, or of similar formation, *i.e.* theophorous with יה as the last element. In the Elephantine papyri one of the colonists bears such a name; it is that of the Jewish priest at Yeb יהנייה (i. 4); in the Assouan group we have 26 names of this formation, many of them common among the families who laid the foundations of Judaism in the days of the Return and Restoration.¹⁸ These names, together with

¹⁸ In the Elephantine papyri we have the name of only one of these colonists, Jedoniah (i. 4), and as it is that of the priest, too much stress cannot be laid upon it. In regard to the proper names of the Assouan group the editors speak very definitely: "Their names are compounded with that of Yahweh quite as much as the names of the orthodox Jews who returned to Palestine from the captivity." Sayce and Cowley, *op. cit.*, p. 10. Bacher (*JQR*, xix. p. 447) proposes another theory based on the occurrence of the names Hosea and Menahem, — in the Assouan papyri six individuals bear the latter and eight the former. As these are Ephraïmitic names, this scholar argues that the predominating strain in the colony was from the northern tribes, and that it came from Assyria or Babylon. According to Bacher this colony was founded by soldiers in the army of the Assyrian kings who invaded Egypt. Israel Levi (*REJ*, liv. p. 38) agrees with Bacher, and

all the allusions to their worship and cultus, point to the purer Yahweh worship of the Southern Kingdom as the faith of the founders of the colony at Syene.¹⁴

Keeping in mind the naïveté of the Jews in addressing the authorities at Jerusalem, and the evidence of a pure form of Yahweh worship at Elephantine, it is possible to draw but one conclusion; namely, that the unity of the sanctuary had not been a recognized principle in Israel from the beginnings of her history. If it had been preached from Moses onwards by the spiritual leaders of the nation, time enough had elapsed since that, until the *terminus a quo* of the founding of this colony, to have allowed this idea to pass into the iron atoms of the blood, so that nothing could efface it. Later history justifies this statement. The Jew has never forgotten religious principles which experience and history have written on his memory, but once learned, they abide forever. The Jews of Elephantine, with a knowledge of the Deuteronomic principle, might have built a sanctuary to keep alive their faith in their national God and thus adapted themselves to a practical situation as Lagrange maintains, but they would never have made the appeal contained in Papyrus I, had they known the position of the hierarchy at Jerusalem.

The facts revealed by our papyri do not deal gently with the two alternate views of Orr and Van Hoonacker. If Orr¹⁵ be correct in his hypothesis, that "the principle of the centralization of worship was involved in the Mosaic system

traces the origin of the colony to Babylon, terming it, "*un essaim de colonie babylonienne*." I think the view of Bacher and Levi is without adequate foundation.

¹⁴ After I had sketched the argument of this paper, an article by Owen C. Whitehouse came to my notice. Whitehouse takes a view of the religion of this colony identical with my own. "Moreover, the offerings of the temple, burnt offerings, meal offerings, and incense (i. 21, cf. 25), also the custom of fasting in times of sorrow (20), exhibit no suggestion of illegitimate forms of worship. There is no mention of an *asherah*, or of anything that indicated the traditions of a Canaanite high place such as *Kedeshim* or *kedeshoth*, with which the prophets Hosea and Amos and the Books of the Kings make us familiar." *Exp. Times*, xx. p. 202.

¹⁵ Orr, *The Problem of the Old Testament*, p. 177.

from the commencement," and the law in Dt. 12 was "not given as a law intended to come into perfect operation from the first," the data of our documents would lead us to infer that this principle of centralization had never been a vital force in the Hebrew religion. On this hypothesis it could have been only an esoteric priestly theory, which never touched the life of the people. Our general knowledge of the development of Semitic religions, together with the situation at Yeb as presented in these papyri, make the view of Orr very unlikely. Unfortunately the data are not of such a nature as to enable us to deny it categorically.

The situation as presented in the Elephantine papyri completely overthrows the theory so ably advocated by Van Hoonacker.¹⁶ According to this scholar the Deuteronomic law was only a development of a principle inherent in the Covenant Code, Dt. 12 4 ff., being another statement of the law implicit in the regulations concerning the three feasts of Ex. 23 14-19. Both of these passages in his eyes refer exclusively to the *official public worship* which could be conducted at the central sanctuary alone. The enactment of Ex. 20 24 in regard to the "altar of earth," which is usually quoted in support of the practice of sacrifice at many shrines and high places during the period of the monarchy, is regarded by Van Hoonacker as applying only to *private worship*. In other words, the ideal of Israel had been one and only one altar for the national ceremonial, but altars many and

¹⁶ Van Hoonacker, *Le Lieu du Culte dans la Législation Rituelle des Hébreux*, p. 27. He sums up his thesis in the following language: "Dans les trois groupes de lois que nous avons examinés, la législation rituelle des Hébreux s'accorde à proclamer qu'il n'y a en Israël qu'un seul lieu servant de demeure à Jéhova et que c'est en ce lieu, pas ailleurs, que doivent être régulièrement accomplis les actes du culte public et national. Le livre de l'alliance connaît cette institution aussi bien que le code sacerdotal et le Deutéronome."

"Le livre de l'alliance et le code sacerdotal, à côté de celle-là, en règlent ou supposent une autre se rapportant au culte privé et domestique qui s'exerce dans l'immolation ordinaire du bétail. Cette immolation était accompagnée de certaines actions religieuses que tout Israélite était apte à poser et qui devaient s'accomplir sur des autels de terre ou de pierres non taillées." p. 86.

shrines many for the cultivation of domestic religion. If Van Hoonacker's contention be correct, our Egyptian temple falls between two stools, as it was a public shrine, and in no sense a private altar. On his theory its erection was a violation of the Deuteronomic command, and at the same time Ex. 20 ~~2~~ could not be quoted in its defense. In other words, Van Hoonacker's hypothesis has no place for the sanctuary described in our papyri, and is consequently untenable in so far as it fails to account for all the phenomena which history presents.

The So-called J Decalogue

ALBERT C. KNUDSON

BOSTON UNIVERSITY

IN 1773 Goethe published a brief article, entitled "*Zwei wichtige, bisher unerörterte Biblische Fragen, zum erstenmal gründlich beantwortet von einem Landgeistlichen in Schwaben.*" Of these two questions the first was, "What stood on the tables of the covenant?" To this the young poet replied: "Not the ten commandments, the first part of our catechism," but ten commandments to be found in Ex. 34 10-26. Nowhere in Exodus, he argued, is it stated that the decalogue of ch. 20 was written on the tables of stone. The first tables are referred to in 24 12, 31 18, and 32 15, 16, but what was written on them is not made known, and they were broken to pieces "before it was even possible to guess at their contents." The second tables, however, are said to have contained the same words as the first (34 1), and what stood on them is perfectly clear from 34 27-28. It was the ten commandments recorded in the preceding verses (10-26). To be sure, Deuteronomy asserts that the decalogue of Ex. 20 was written both on the first and the second tables. But "this book," Goethe held, "was compiled from tradition during the Babylonian captivity." Its testimony on this point, therefore, is unreliable.

The chief basis, however, of his contention lay, not so much in these exegetical and critical considerations, as in his general conception of the Old Testament covenant. That covenant was thoroughly exclusive. That it should, therefore, have been founded upon such universal obligations as those of Ex. 20 is in itself highly improbable. On the other hand, such regulations as those of Ex. 34, which distinguish Israel from all other peoples, furnished a fitting

basis for it. Ex. 20 was simply "the preamble of the law." It contained "doctrines with which God presupposed that his people, as men and as Israelites, were acquainted."

This view, that we have a decalogue in Ex. 34 10-26, is commonly supposed to have originated with Goethe. And it is true that he worked it out independently of any one else, and that his presentation of it has distinctly novel features. But Houbigant in his *Biblia Hebraica*, published in 1753, says that the "ten words" of 34 28 might refer to the preceding precepts, and actually divides them into a decalogue, although not adopting that as his own view. And Nestle¹ has recently directed our attention to the fact that an ancient Greek theologian, the anonymous author of the so-called "Tübingen Theosophy," who lived during the latter part of the fifth century A.D., held "that two decalogues were written by Moses," of which the first was that in Ex. 34, and the second that in Ex. 20. But for neither of these men did the existence of a decalogue in Ex. 34 constitute a significant problem. Goethe, so far as we know, was the first with whom this was the case.

He had discussed the subject in his inaugural disputation in 1771 when he took his degree at Strassburg, and wanted then to publish his dissertation, but the faculty refused permission on the ground that it was a "sacrilegious" production. The publication of his conclusions two years later in the above-mentioned article did not apparently make much of an impression. In a letter, dated March, 1811, Niebuhr, the historian, says that he had had the article in his possession for some time, but not until just then had he learned that Goethe was its author. And not until 1848 have I been able to find any mention of it by any Biblical scholar. About 1830, however, some of the facts cited in it began to awaken special interest. In 1831 both Bleek² and Hartmann³ took up the difficulty connected with Ex. 34 28. The former concluded that the narrator meant to identify the

¹ ZAW, 1904, pp. 134 f.

² Th. St. Kr., 1831, p. 513, note.

³ Historisch-kritische Forschungen, pp. 227 f.

"ten commandments" of this verse with the precepts recorded in vss. 11-26; the latter saw in the apparent discrepancy between this verse and vs. 1 of the same chapter evidence of composite authorship. In 1838 Hitzig,⁴ taking his cue from Bleek, published a somewhat extended discussion of the "second decalogue," as he termed it. He divided Ex. 34 12-26 into ten commandments, attempting to justify his division in detail. In his characterization of this new decalogue, as compared with that in Ex. 20, he agreed with Goethe, but with reference to its origin he took a very different view. It was, he held, a mere compilation from the preceding laws of Exodus, made by some late redactor who failed to find in ch. 20-23 the ten commandments said to have been written on the tables of stone, and who consequently sought in this way to reconstruct the original. What we have here then is a mere "idle speculation."

The next year Hengstenberg⁵ replied to this theory. "For thousands of years before the time of Hitzig," he said, "it never entered any one's mind to question the fact" that the decalogue of Ex. 20 was written on the tables of the covenant. At the same time he admitted that the commandments in Ex. 34 12-26 undoubtedly seemed to form a group of ten. The following year, 1840, Bertheau⁶ published an interesting work, in which he sought to show that there were numerous decalogues in the legislation of the middle books of the Pentateuch. His hope was that in this way an external standard might be established by which it could be decided what laws belonged to the original collection. He agreed with Hitzig that there was a decalogue in Ex. 34, but his reconstruction of it was very different. He found the ten commandments in vss. 18-26, instead of vss. 12-26. He also rejected Hitzig's view that this decalogue was written on the tables of the covenant. "The ten words" of vs. 28, he argued, referred to Ex. 20, and not to the preceding precepts. An English echo of this discussion appeared

⁴ *Ostern und Pfingsten im Zweiten Dekalog*, pp. 40-54.

⁵ *Beiträge zur Einleitung ins Alte Testament*, iii. pp. 389 ff.

⁶ *Die sieben Gruppen mosaischer Gesetze*.

in 1847 in F. W. Newman's *History of the Hebrew Monarchy*. That we have in Ex. 34 "the genuine Mosaic decalogue," and that Ex. 20 was "a modernized improvement," is here declared to be "a plausible opinion." The author, however, did not commit himself to it. The next year Kurtz⁷ took up the discussion again in Germany. Hengstenberg had been quite willing to concede to Hitzig the honor of having been the first to discover "the second decalogue," but Kurtz now deprived him of it by pointing out, what had not heretofore been done by any writer on the subject, that he had been anticipated in his theory at least sixty-five years by Goethe. He himself rejected the theory, and said that it had met with no approval from others. Bachmann⁸ ten years later (1858) also stated that it had been shown to be wholly untenable. In 1853, however, Ewald⁹ had adopted it in a somewhat modified form. We have, he says, in Ex. 34 12-26, "the original decalogue suitably renewed for later times." This renewal he attributed to the "Fourth Narrator," corresponding to our Jahwist. And later other scholars, such as Graf (1866), Schrader (1869), and Kayser (1874), accepted the idea that Ex. 34 contains a variant version of the decalogue.

But not until Wellhausen¹⁰ became sponsor for the theory did it gain wide currency. He took the subject up first in 1876, and then in 1889 came back to it again. At first he assigned the new decalogue to an independent source, but later made it a part of the J document, by which relationship it has since been known. He held that it was older than the E decalogue, that of Ex. 20, that it represented a divergent tradition in ancient Israel with reference to the Sinaitic legislation, and that consequently both traditions were unreliable. There was nothing new in this view, but it was stated with such definiteness and positiveness, and was related in such a way to the "critical" theory of the devel-

⁷ *Geschichte des alten Bundes*, ii. p. 322 f.

⁸ *Die Festgesetze des Pentateuchs*.

⁹ *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, ii. p. 217.

¹⁰ *Composition des Hexateuchs*, pp. 83-86, 329-335.

opment of Israelitish religion, that it rapidly commended itself to Old Testament scholars. Kuenen refused his assent, and there is still a respectable element of dissent represented by such men as Kautzsch, König, and Marti. But the prevailing view is undoubtedly that of Wellhausen. Stade endorsed it, and he was followed by Holzinger, Budde, Baentsch, and many others in Germany. In England and this country it was adopted by such men as W. R. Smith, Addis, Harford-Battersby, Briggs, Harper, and Kent.

The chief interest in this theory centers in its bearing on the date of the decalogue of Ex. 20. And it is from this point of view that we now pass to inquire into its basis. In doing so we need to distinguish between two different phases of the problem: (1) Were the laws of Ex. 34 originally ten in number? and (2) Do they represent a variant and contradictory tradition with reference to the basis of the Sinaitic covenant? One might answer either of these questions in the affirmative and yet deny the other. We begin with the former.

The presence of a decalogue in Ex. 34 10-26 was first suggested by the connection of the passage with vs. 28, but, as we have seen from the foregoing historical survey, it has also been admitted and even maintained by some who denied that connection. The results, however, of the different attempts to define or restore the original "ten words" have not been such as to awaken much confidence in the theory. They have been remarkably diverse. This is illustrated by the affixed table,* which is, so far as I have been able to ascertain, exhaustive up to the time of Wellhausen. We have here fifteen different reconstructions of the original decalogue, and to these several others might be added.

The present situation with reference to the analysis of this passage (vss. 10-26) may be thus summarized. It is commonly agreed that vss. 12-13, 15-16 and 24 were later Deuteronomic additions. To these some would add vss. 10b and 11. But after having made these eliminations there still remain at least fourteen distinct commands. And no scientific principle has yet been proposed by which they may be

reduced to ten. That reduction has in every case been more or less arbitrary. Of the fourteen, the regulation with reference to the redemption of the first-born in vs. 20c is commonly thought to be a secondary addition to vs. 19a, which declares that every firstling belongs to Jahwe. And the same view is taken by some of the provision in vs. 20d, that none appear before Jahwe empty. Others, however, would eliminate this command on the ground that it is out of place, that it ought to follow a statement with reference to attendance upon the feasts as in Ex. 23 15, while still others regard it as a part of the original decalogue. Wellhausen in his discussion of the subject disregards both of these injunctions, saying that we have in the chapter only twelve commands. There are then but two to be eliminated. This he accomplishes by excising the Sabbath law in vs. 21, because it intrudes in a disturbing way between the annual feasts, and vs. 23, because it is a superfluous repetition of the preceding special commands. Stade, however, declares that the Sabbath law cannot have been lacking in the original decalogue. He, therefore, cuts out vs. 19a on the ground that it lacks the form of a command. Others eliminate vs. 18a on the theory that the feast of unleavened bread had

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	Houbigant	Goethe	Hitzig	Bertheau	Newman	Ewald	Kayser	Wellhausen	Stade	Bertholet	Holzinger	Baentsch	Budde
	1753	1773	1838	1840	1847	1853	1874	1876 1889	1886 1905	1899	1900	1903	1906
	vs.												
1	12-13	14a	12-16	18	14	12-16	11-16	14a 14a	14a 14a	14a 14a	14a 14a	14a 14a	14a
2	14-17	18a	17	19-20	17	17	17	17 17	17 17	17 17	17 17	17 17	17
3	18	19	18	21	18-20	18	18	18a 18a	18a 21a	19a 18a	18a 19a	19a 19a	19a
4	19-20	21	19-20	22a	21	19-20a	19-20	19a 19a	19a 18a	20b 22a	21a 21a	21a 21a	21a
5	21	22	21	22b	22	20b	21	21a 22a	21a 22a	22a 22b	22b 22a	22a 18a	18a
6	22a	23	22	23-24	23	21	22	23 22b	22 22b	22b 19a	22b 22	22b 22	22
7	22b	25a	23-24	25a	25a	22	23-24	25a 25a	25a 25a	25a 25a	25a 25a	25a 25a	25a
8	23-24	25b	25	25b	25b	23-24	25	25b 25b	25b 25b	25b 25b	25b 25b	25b 25b	25b
9	25a	26a	26a	26a	26a	25	26a	26a 26a	26a 26a	26a 26a	26a 26a	26a 26a	26a
10	26b	26b	26b	26b	26b	26	26b	26b 26b	26b 26b	26b 26b	26b 26b	26b 26b	26b

no place in J, but was introduced from E; and still others unite the feast of weeks and that of ingathering into one command (vs. 22).

This diversity of opinion concerning the contents of the original decalogue in Ex. 34 10-26 does not disprove its existence, but it does raise a well-grounded doubt with reference to it,—a doubt that is not removed by being told that people are not agreed as to the division of Ex. 20 1-17 into ten commands. In the latter case there is practically no difference of opinion among modern scholars, and the differences handed down from the past are very slight. Still this initial doubt with regard to the J decalogue would probably vanish, if it were clear that the "ten words" of vs. 28 referred to the preceding laws. That this is the case is declared by many to be self-evident. But vs. 28 is not so simple and plain as it may seem at first sight. The juxtaposition of "the words of the covenant" and "the ten words," on reflection, awakens suspicion. Either two statements, it would seem, have been combined, or one of the expressions is a gloss. If we adopt the latter view and connect this sentence with the preceding verse, it is probable that the "ten words" were the gloss. They might very naturally have been added by a Deuteronomic redactor, who had been accustomed to think of the decalogue of Ex. 20 as the sole basis of the Sinaitic covenant. Wellhausen's objection, that we thus hold a redactor, who by his very nature ought to be a harmonist, responsible for "the most serious internal contradiction found in the Old Testament," is hardly to be taken seriously. And the same is to be said of his statement, that the absence in the Hebrew of the sign of the accusative before "the ten words" in vs. 28, points to their being older than the preceding expression. This sign appears with the corresponding words in vs. 27. Its absence then before "the ten words," if anything, indicates that these words were a later addition. Their position at the end of the verse also points in the same direction. Further, it may be noted that they come in unexpectedly. There is nothing in the preceding verse to prepare us for them. In

order to retain them Wellhausen is ready to eliminate from the original context all reference to the formation of a covenant, although that reference is explicitly made in vss. 10, 27 and 28, and seems essential to the narrative.

It is, however, by no means certain that vs. 28 b was originally a continuation of vs. 27. Not only do "the ten words" come in unexpectedly, but so does also the reference to "the tables." Furthermore, in its present context the sentence contradicts in the most glaring way vs. 1. There it is Jahwe who is to write the decalogue; here it is Moses. It has indeed been held—and this was the common view until recent times—that in vs. 28 b we have a change of subject. It was not Moses, as one would expect from vs. 27, but Jahwe who wrote the words of the covenant. This is not grammatically impossible, but it certainly is improbable. It would seem then that originally vs. 28 b stood in a different connection. It may have been a continuation of vss. 1 and 4 (from E). And this is the view taken by many scholars. In this case there would not be the same reasons for regarding "the ten words" as a gloss. Indeed, it might be held that "the words of the covenant" had been added later in order to fit the sentence into its present context.

But there is a third view possible. We may have in vs. 28 b the fusion of two sentences. The first (from J) may have read, "And he wrote the words of the covenant," and the second (from E), "And Jahwe wrote on the tables the ten words." Both of these statements are called for by the preceding narrative. Vs. 27 requires the first, and vs. 1 the second. The text in its present form is incomplete. If vs. 28 b is regarded as a continuation of vs. 27, vs. 1 is left suspended in the air; and *vice versa*. It would then give a new unity to the chapter, if the text were emended as indicated. And that such a fusion might have taken place is evident from the fact that יהוה was occasionally abbreviated by the scribe into a mere י. "And Jahweh wrote" (וַיִּכְתֹּב) would thus have in the Hebrew the same consonantal form as "and he wrote" (וַיִּכְתֹּב). Thinking then the former a repetition of the latter, a copyist might naturally omit it, and

thus by a simple rearrangement of the words the text in its present form would arise.

The mere statement of these three views is sufficient to show not only that it is unnecessary to refer "the ten words" of vs. 28b to the preceding laws, but that this interpretation is extremely improbable. However these words may have gotten into their present context, there can hardly be a doubt that they were understood by the Deuteronomist and the later redactors to refer to the decalogue of Ex. 20. The testimony of the Deuteronomist on this point is especially important. He asserts in the most explicit way that the words written on the second tables were the same as on the first. To this Wellhausen replies by saying, "*Über den Dekalog in Ex. 34 müsste er wol oder übel stillschweigen.*" But this is not a sufficient response. Such an impeachment of the Deuteronomist is wholly gratuitous. For whatever may be said with reference to his free handling of his sources, there is no adequate ground for calling in question his plain statement of fact in such a case as this. We conclude, then, that vs. 28b furnishes no basis for seeking for "ten words" in the preceding laws. And with this vanishes all substantial ground for the existence of a J decalogue. The Old Testament as a whole knows of but one decalogue, and that the one in Ex. 20 and Dt. 5.

But while there is no adequate ground for holding that the laws of Ex. 34 were originally ten in number, it is still a question whether they do not represent a parallel version to that of Ex. 20 with reference to the basis of the Sinaitic covenant. Biblical tradition in its present form affords no support for this view. It was evidently the opinion of the final redactor of Ex. 19-34, that just as the first promulgation of the decalogue was accompanied by the book of the covenant (Ex. 20 22-23 19), so the renewal of the tables was accompanied by "the words of the covenant." Both of these collections of laws were written by Moses; the decalogue on the other hand was written by God twice on tables of stone. The code of Ex. 34 is thus represented as in a sense parallel to that of 20 22-23 19. And the fact that the former is

almost completely paralleled by laws in the latter makes this a very natural view. Deuteronomy says nothing about either of these codes. So far as the Sinaitic legislation is concerned, it seems to know nothing but the decalogue. Indeed, there is one statement that seems to exclude any other laws. After the promulgation of the decalogue we are told that "he added no more" (Dt. 5 22). This might be interpreted as simply an exaggerated way of saying that the decalogue alone was announced directly to the people by God Himself. But it suggests at least the view that the Deuteronomist found in his sources no other laws connected with Sinai than those of Ex. 20. That he knew the other two codes is evident from the generally admitted fact that they lay at the basis of the Deuteronomic legislation. And hence it is held by many that they originally occupied another place in his sources. But, however that may be, it is certain that he did not look upon Ex. 34 10-26 as in any sense a parallel to Ex. 20.

The question now, however, arises as to whether Biblical tradition on this point is sustained by an analysis of the Sinaitic pericope (Ex. 19-34) into its original sources. This section of the Pentateuch, as is well known, is especially difficult of analysis. W. R. Smith calls it the *locus desperatus* of criticism. Scholars are practically agreed in assigning 19 1-2 a, 24 15-18 a, 25 1-31 18 a, and 34 29-35 to P. But how the remaining portions should be distributed among J and E and the various redactors, is still a matter of wide difference of opinion. And after the analysis is effected it is still a question how far J and E had undergone revision before they were united together, and how far they were affected by subsequent stages of redaction. For instance, did the decalogue belong to E¹ or E²? Or was it written by one of the authors of Deuteronomy and inserted in Exodus by Rd? Did E originally represent the Sinaitic covenant as consisting simply in the institution of the sacred ark, in which were placed two stone fetiches? And was this representation later superseded by the story of the tent of meeting, and still later by an account of the giving of cer-

tain ceremonial laws now found in the code of the covenant? Or was the Horeb-covenant according to E¹ based on unknown laws, inscribed on tables of stone and handed to Moses? Was the book of the covenant found in E, or was it added by Rje? If in E, did it occupy its present place? Or was it assigned to Kadesh, or to the plains of Moab, or did it perhaps have its place after Joshua 24 24? Or was only a part of it, the judgments in Ex. 21 1-22 17, originally put elsewhere, while the ceremonial laws occupied the place of the present decalogue? Did 24 3-8 originally connect with the decalogue, or with the code of the covenant, or with the so-called "words" of E? Or have we in these verses the original conclusion of the J narrative of Ex. 34? Is 24 1-2, 9-11 to be assigned to J or E, or perhaps to some otherwise unknown source? Have we in 24 12-14 the continuation of vs. 11 or of vs. 8? Or does this passage connect directly with the decalogue of ch. 20? Was the story of the golden calf in ch. 32 derived wholly from E, or did it belong to both J and E? Is the renewal of the tables of stone in 34 1.4 to be ascribed to E, or to the redactor who combined J and E? Did the laws of 34 10-26 belong to J; or did the earliest stratum of J agree with E in making the sacred ark the one important element in the Sinaitic covenant, and were these laws then added later as a result of the moralizing influence of the prophets? Or were they inserted in their present place by a late redactor, so that they had no place whatsoever in J? Every one of these questions represents the view or views of some scholar or scholars of distinction. And only the more important points of difference are here alluded to.

This diversity of view shows how uncertain the analysis of these chapters into their original elements is; and raises a well-grounded doubt with regard to the correctness of any of the analyses that have been proposed. So far as Ex. 34 is concerned, it is generally admitted that the institution of a covenant is here introduced as something new. There is no reference to the covenant already made. If, then, the preceding covenant belonged to E, as is commonly held, it is natural to refer this one to J. But whether there was

any mention in J of the tables of stone cannot be determined; and so also it is uncertain where according to J this covenant was made. But more important than either of these points is the question as to the relation of the laws here given to the similar ones in the code of the covenant (hereafter to be designated as CC). Have we here a case of dependence of one group upon the other? And if so, is Ex. 34 dependent upon CC, or CC upon Ex. 34? Or are the two groups mutually independent, dating perhaps from the same period and derived from a common original? Something can be said for each of these views.

Several facts seem to stamp the laws of Ex. 34 as secondary. The prescriptions, for instance, with reference to the first-born in vss. 19f. are more detailed than the corresponding regulations in 22 29f. The latter simply lay down the general law that the first-born of men and of cattle and sheep belong to God, while the former distinguish the firstlings of cow and sheep from those of the ass on the one hand and from the first-born of men on the other. The two last-named, it is stated, are to be redeemed. We do, it is true, have in 22 30 a specification that does not appear in ch. 34. The firstling, we are told, is to be given to God on the eighth day after its birth. But this regulation may have been omitted by the author or redactor of ch. 34, because here the presentation of the firstlings is connected with the feast of unleavened bread. Anyhow this annual presentation is certainly a later custom than that of Ex. 22 30. Then again, the expression, "the sacrifice of the feast of the passover," in 34 25, is evidently a later modification of the briefer and more specific expression in 23 18, "the fat of my feast." It is also clear that the words, "the God of Israel," in 34 23, not found in 23 17, are a later addition. Sven Herner¹¹ further argues that "the feast of the harvest" in 23 16 is an older name for Pentecost than "the feast of weeks" in 34 22, and that the restriction of the offerings at this feast to the first-fruits of the wheat-harvest implies a later and more highly developed conception than that found in 23 16, where the offerings are

¹¹ *Ist der zweite Dekalog älter als das Bundesbuch?* pp. 17 ff.

designated as the first-fruits of the field in general. This latter contention is probably not well founded. But, however that may be, the preceding facts seem to indicate that the laws of Ex. 34 are younger than the parallel ones in CC. Accepting, then, this conclusion, we might account for it by one of two theories. We might hold, as some do, that J was younger than E. Or we might adopt such a view as that proposed by Kautzsch. "If the Jahwist," he says, "had essentially the same decalogue as the Elohist, the redactor could not possibly, after it had been given in Ex. 20, have introduced it once more in Ex. 34, and so he filled up the consequent gap with ceremonial prescriptions which can be recognized at the first glance as parallels to the laws of the book of the covenant."

Other facts, however, seem to prove that Ex. 23 15-19 was added to CC from 34 18-26. Observe first that the two laws in 34 18-26, not found in 23 15-19, appear earlier in CC. 34 19f. has its parallel in 22 29f., and 34 21 in 23 12. Again, note that two of the regulations in 23 15-19 are repetitions of preceding laws. Vs. 17 is a repetition of vs. 14, and vs. 19 a of 22 29 a. This would hardly have occurred if 23 15-19 had been an original part of CC. The name Jahwe, also, in vss. 17 and 19, while it might have occurred in E, naturally points to J; and the expression, "as I commanded thee," in vs. 15, is characteristic of J. Budde¹² further argues that the regulation, that none should appear before Jahwe empty, has its original place in 34 20, after the law concerning the redemption of the first-born, while in 23 15 it is manifestly out of connection. But this is by no means clear. The regulation applies more naturally to men in general than simply to the first-born. Its place would, therefore, properly be after the mention of one of the feasts, as in 23 15. But, regardless of this point, it is maintained by many that the preceding facts are decisive in favor of the priority of the laws of Ex. 34. In harmony with this conclusion, it is then argued that these laws were the original Sinaitic legislation of J. Since this legislation conflicted with that of E in Ex. 20, the redactor, when these

¹² ZAW, 1891, pp. 193 ff.

documents were combined, incorporated as far as possible the laws of J into CC. Later some one, who regarded Ex. 34 as too valuable to be lost, inserted it in its present place, adjusting it to Ex. 20 by making it refer to the restored tables of stone. The fact that it had already been utilized in ch. 23 was either overlooked or not regarded as adequate. The idea of the restoration of the tables of stone may have been taken from E or may have been simply a device of the editor. This view requires us to hold that some redactor meant to identify the laws of Ex. 34 with those of Ex. 20, although they are almost totally different.

But there are still other facts that leave the impression that we have in Ex. 23 and 34 two independent groups of laws. There may have been some adjustment of one to the other. Some of the expressions and regulations in ch. 34 may have been transferred to ch. 23, and some in the latter may have been carried over into ch. 34. But the fact that the two groups are not completely parallel, and that even in the parallel laws there are some marked differences of expression, favors, it is claimed, the view that originally and for the most part they were independent of each other. This theory, since the publication of Meissner's dissertation on the decalogue in 1893, has been growing in favor. It is coupled with the view that in the ceremonial regulations of CC we have the original Horeb-*debarim* of E, while in Ex. 34 we have the Sinai-*debarim* of J. These two groups may have originally formed decalogues, though that is not a necessary part of the view. Whether they were originally said to have been written by Moses on tables of stone is also a point on which advocates of the theory are disagreed. The two groups, it is held, were so similar in content that when J and E were united it was possible for the redactor to represent the J group as a renewal of the other after the breaking of the covenant. The judgments, which form the larger part of CC (21 1-22 17), it is thought, were transferred to their present position by some late editor. In the original E narrative they may have occupied the place of the present book of Deuteronomy. This view also requires that the

decatalogue of Ex. 20 was a later addition to the text. It was probably either added by E², or was written in the time of Deuteronomy and was then transferred to its present place by Rd.

That this theory has some plausible features is not to be denied. It avoids the absurdity of supposing, as does Wellhausen, that an editor identified the laws of Ex. 34 with those of Ex. 20. Such identification in the case of chs. 23 and 34 would have been natural enough. But the view itself has no adequate textual basis. It may be admitted that the reference to the "judgments" in 24 3 was added later in order to adjust the passage to the introduction of CC. But that may also have been true of 24 4 a and 7. There is then no reason why we should not see in 24 3-8 the conclusion of the covenant on the basis of the decalogue of ch. 20, which is later said to have been written on the tables of stone (24 12; 31 18; 32 15 f.). McNeile's statement,¹³ that "no room can be found for the decalogue in the original narratives of J and E," grows wholly out of the fancy that 24 3-8 must refer to the Horeb-*debarim* of E, now incorporated in CC, when, as a matter of fact, the very existence of these Horeb-*debarim* as a separate group of laws is a mere conjecture.

The conclusion, then, to which we come is that the literary analysis of Ex. 19-34 leaves the question open as to whether we have in Ex. 34 a variant and contradictory version with reference to the basis of the Sinaitic covenant. Even if this question should be answered in the affirmative, the version of Ex. 20 would not necessarily thereby be discredited; for much could be said in favor of its greater trustworthiness.¹⁴ But there is nothing that requires us to regard the laws of Ex. 34 as parallel to those of Ex. 20. On the contrary, so far as both form and content are concerned, they are manifestly parallel to the ritual laws of CC. There is also no adequate warrant for holding that the decalogue belongs to a

¹³ "The Book of Exodus," in *Westminster Commentaries*.

¹⁴ See Procksch, *Das Nordhebräische Sagenbuch: die Elohimquelle*, pp. 225 ff., 252, 257, 307 f.

later stratum of E or was interpolated from D and displaced an earlier group of ritual laws. So far as mere literary analysis goes, there is nothing that justifies us in rejecting the Deuteronomic tradition on this point as unreliable. That tradition was clearly accepted by the later redactors of the Pentateuch, and cannot by a sound scholarship be regarded as a mere figment of the imagination. The consistent and uniform representation of the Old Testament, that the ten commandments of Ex. 20 and they only were written on tables of stone by the finger of God, must have had some substantial basis in the earliest traditions of Israel as embodied in J and E. If a divergent and contradictory tradition appeared in J or in both J and E, it is certainly probable that some reflection of it would be found in Deuteronomy.

The breaking of the tables of stone, as recorded in Ex. 32, has recently been interpreted as meaning that "a formulated law of Moses was unknown" (Holzinger) and as betraying a consciousness that the decalogue of Ex. 20 was not old (Matthes). But a more natural interpretation of that narrative, if legendary, would be that Israel was not willing to live according to the moral-religious law of Ex. 20, and that, therefore, the ritual laws of Ex. 34 were given (Wildeboer). This would clearly be more in harmony with the teaching of the prophets with regard to the Mosaic age. There is then nothing in the text as such of the Sinaitic pericope, nor of the Old Testament as a whole for that matter, that conflicts with the Mosaicity of the decalogue in its primitive form.

But the real grounds for holding that Ex. 20 could not have formed the basis of the Sinaitic covenant are not specifically textual. They are more general in character. That was the case with Goethe, and it is also true of Wellhausen. If the literary prophets were the creators of ethical monotheism, as the latter contends, and if the decalogue in its original form taught ethical monotheism, it is perfectly clear that we must regard the decalogue as a deposit of prophetic teaching, and as, therefore, not earlier than the beginning of the seventh century B.C. But both of these conditional clauses are open to serious question.

There is a growing conviction that the preprophetic religion has in recent years been painted in altogether too dark colors. In seeking to establish the current view with reference to it, the argument from silence has been greatly overworked. There are good reasons for believing that from the time of Moses down there was a higher and purer element in the religion of Israel than one might be led to conclude from the fragmentary historical notices that have come down to us from that early period. The later outcome points to that. Then, too, it is not necessary to hold that the decalogue in its primitive form implied a developed ethical monotheism. Indeed, there is nothing in it that requires monotheism at all. It does imply the union of religion and morality, but even that may not have been originally conceived so definitely as at present. It is then quite possible that the decalogue in a simpler and briefer form may date from the time of Moses.

It is commonly held that the laws of Ex. 34 must be older than those of Ex. 20. Moore¹⁵ says that they "are the earliest attempt with which we are acquainted to embody in a series of brief injunctions formulated as divine commands the essential observances of the religion of Jahwe." The chief reason for this conclusion is that they are exclusively ritualistic. Such regulations, it is held, as those of vss. 25-26, which forbid the seething of a kid in its mother's milk and the keeping of a part of the sacrifice till morning, presuppose a very primitive state of religion. But whether that be the case or not depends upon the conditions under which they were formulated. Assuming that the laws of Ex. 34 formed originally an independent collection — which as we have seen is open to question — it is not impossible that Budde¹⁶ may be right in holding that they were intended for Canaanites who attached themselves to Israel during the period of the Judges and the early years of the monarchy. And in that case they would not necessarily represent the "essential observances of the religion of Jahwe," but simply such practices as needed at that time to be enforced upon his Canaanitic

¹⁵ *Encyclopædia Biblica*, col. 1446.

¹⁶ *Geschichte der althebräischen Litteratur*, p. 96.

worshippers. That would be especially true of the regulations above referred to in vss. 25-26. What we have then in the laws of Ex. 34 would be, in part at least, a parallel to such prohibitions as those said to have been imposed upon Gentile converts by the so-called Apostolic Council (Acts 15 28f.). These prohibitions do not contradict the ethical character of Christianity; and no more do the laws of Ex. 34 contradict the ethical character of the contemporary religion of Jahwe. Wellhausen's statement, that the E decalogue sustains the same relation to the one ascribed to J as Amos did to his contemporaries, is false in the sense in which he intended it. There is nothing in the laws of Ex. 34 that is necessarily antagonistic to the decalogue. Both may have emanated from the same period in Israel's history. The stress on ritual in the one and on the ethical demands of Jahwe in the other may have been due to the different purposes which they were designed to serve. And, if they came from different periods, it is by no means certain that the laws of Ex. 34 are the older. Their ritualistic character may have been due to Canaanitic influence, while the decalogue in its primitive form with its single ceremonial requirement may point to the simpler and purer faith of the desert. This is the view adopted by Holzinger. In spite of that he rejects the Mosaic authorship of the decalogue. But, surely, if the ten commandments came from the nomadic age, there is no reason why they should not be credited to Moses himself, to whom a perfectly uniform tradition ascribes them.

Professor Eduard König's Reply to Dr. Cobb's "Where was Isaiah 40-66 written?"

[Dr. Cobb had controverted Professor König's arguments for Babylonia as the scene of the speaker in Is. 40 ff. in his article on "Where was Isaiah 40-66 written?" (*JBL*, xvii, 1908) in footnotes 15 and 16 on pp. 62 f. In answer to this, Professor König wrote an article for the *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift* as one of a series of studies of his on "Deuterojesaianisches." It was published in November, 1908, pp. 989-1002, under the title "Der Standort des Redners von Jes. 40 ff." Since it is contrary to the principles of the *Journal of Biblical Literature* to publish any article which has already appeared elsewhere, Professor König's request for the publication of his reply to Dr. Cobb could not be granted. It was, however, felt that his request for the publication of a brief summary of his argument could not reasonably be denied. — J. A. BEWER.]

AFTER replying to Dr. Cobb that his argument from the difference in the usage of Deutero-Isaiah and Ezekiel respecting the products of nature and industry is ineffective, because it does not take into account the individuality of the writers; and that the historical tradition which assigns these chapters to Palestine is not quite as uniform as Dr. Cobb thinks, and that even if it were it would have to give way to a truer understanding, — Professor König takes up the argument from the adverbs *הנה* and *הנה* in Is. 52 5. 11 which had been directed against his book, *The Exiles' Book of Consolation* (1900).

He insists that *הנה* in Is. 52 5 must refer to Babylonia. Coming, as it does, in the question of Jahve, "What have I to do here?" directly after the reference to the two earlier places of exile, Egypt and Assyria, it fitly refers to Babylonia, the third place of exile. Jahve's people had gone down to Egypt first, and later they had been led away to Assyria, where they were oppressed for nought. "And now," so Jahve goes on to say, directing the attention to the present situation, "what have I to do *here*?" i. e. in Babylonia, "for

my people has been taken away without cause." What reason can there be for Him to remain with His people *here*, in Babylonia, where they are suffering the punishment of exile without cause? The preceding as well as the following context favors this, for according to 52 2 the people of Jerusalem are exiles and their return to Jerusalem is still future according to 52 8 b. 9 a. 12 b.

In regard to the adverb מִשָּׁם in Is. 52 11, Professor König insists that it refers in the context to the Gojim and the ends of the earth (vs. 10). The suffix in the parallel מִתּוֹכָהּ refers also to them; it may originally have been מִתּוֹכֵם, but no stress is laid on this emendation. Now the speaker could nevertheless be in Babylonia, for the shout "Away, away! Go out from thence!" etc., may have been formulated as the words of the messenger of peace who speaks in v. 7 b, or of the watchmen of Jerusalem who have gone up to the top of the eastern hills (vs. 8 a).

After this Professor König proceeds to examine one by one the other references which Dr. Cobb had used in the course of his argument, insisting in each case that Dr. Cobb's position is untenable. We need not give here all the details; only the answer in connection with 40 2 will be stated, since it has to do with Dr. Cobb's footnote 16. Dr. Cobb had said: "The scene in 40 2 is Jerusalem, and there is no suggestion of Babylon in the whole chapter. The reference in this verse to the seventy years' exile is a fancy of the commentators. To Jerusalem, like a king, comes Jahwe (vs. 3) through the wilderness, as in the highly poetical parallel, Ps. 68 5: 'Sing unto God, make melody to his name; Cast up a highway for him that rideth through the deserts.'" Professor König replies, that Jerusalem is not the *scene* but the *object* of consolation. "Ergibt sich denn aber aus dem Objekt der Worte eines Redners dessen Aufenthaltsort?" The author's description of Jerusalem, which is to be comforted, suggests the exile of her citizens, and it is to this that "her warfare" (vs. 2) naturally refers. In the following verses (3-11) the attention of the reader is directed away from Jerusalem to the place of exile, whence the people

shall be brought back to Jerusalem by Jahve. It is true that Ps. 68 5 speaks also of a march of Jahve through the desert, "but here in Is. 40 3-11 the purpose of the making of the way (vss. 3f.) is determined by the preceding as well as by the following," and it cannot be doubtful that it is to bring the exiles home from Babylonia.

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The Text of the Epistle of James

JAMES HARDY ROPES

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

THE following investigation of the text of the Epistle of James is an experiment made in the belief that a thorough study of a strictly limited field in the great problem of the text of the New Testament might lead to valuable results, and that a body of observed facts could be assembled which would have permanent objective validity. The study is incomplete, but the results so far attained have proved interesting to the writer, and the present article is now published with the hope that others may be led to take up similar investigations in limited fields.

The elaborate investigations and statistics on the text of the New Testament published by Bernhard Weiss in the *Texte und Untersuchungen* are undoubtedly of much value, but the method is not always easy to understand, and the argument is not wholly convincing, while they are subject to the obvious, though only partly justified, criticism, that it is unsatisfactory to restrict the discussion arbitrarily to the uncial manuscripts. They represent, however, the only important systematic attempt to set forth the fundamental process of weighing the value of the several witnesses to the text. Such a process underlay the work of Westcott and Hort, and they ought to have given to the world the careful lists and statistics which they made, in addition to the com-

fact statements of results which are contained in Hort's *Introduction*. But any one who makes the attempt will discover at once why Dr. Hort was deterred from such an undertaking. Even in cases where the evidence is clear and indisputable, it is often impossible to make exact numerical statements that can be depended on. Unimportant complications in the state of the facts, the necessary subjectivity of the decision in some of the cases, and the difficulty of attaining absolute accuracy without an expenditure of time out of all proportion to any possible value which might accrue in a matter where only large differences of number can have any significance — all these things will inevitably unite to discourage the scholar from venturing upon anything beyond a summary statement, the weight of which will rest solely on the confidence which other students have in his personal power of judging evidence correctly. Yet, if the results are to be permanently convincing, some adequate statement of the evidence must be made.

In the following discussion perfect accuracy is not claimed for the statistics. The figures are presented as approximate only, and it has been sought to make only such use of them as their approximate character would justify. It has been attempted to use as evidence only those judgments about the nature of variants (for instance, in deciding whether a particular reading should be regarded as a deliberate emendation, or as an error, or as probably the true reading) which would seem likely to commend themselves to any scholar, and to treat doubtful matters as doubtful.

The textual problem of the New Testament has usually been approached through those books in which the facts are most complicated — and therefore most interesting. Would it not be well to begin with the simpler aspects of the problem and thence proceed to those which present greater difficulties? In the Epistle of James the problem is simplified by the absence of representatives of the "Western text." In the second century the book was so little known that the earliest clear references to it are those of Origen; it was not used by Cyprian, and no version is known to have been made

earlier than the fourth century. No witness presents the characteristic marks of the "Western text" in any recognizable degree. At the same time the amount of evidence for the text is large and varied. Further, the book is short enough for the material to be easily mastered and the facts kept in mind, while the number of variants is sufficient to provide an adequate body of facts for study. Tischendorf's apparatus registers variation at about 335 points; and even so it properly omits a large number of isolated and unimportant variants found in single minuscules and known from published collations.

It may be added that the epistle must have had in the third and fourth centuries a history somewhat distinct from that of the other books of its group (the Catholic Epistles and Acts), so that it is right in the first instance to study its text without reference to the textual problems of those books.

The practical results to which the investigation of the relative value of the witnesses to the text of James has thus far led, and which are given more fully below, may be here mentioned in brief. It will be observed that the study of the versions is not complete.

1. No Ms. or version gives an untouched, "neutral," text free from emendations. Therefore, "transcriptional probability," when it is clear, is a sufficient reason for rejecting the testimony even of the best Ms.

2. Codex B, though not perfect, presents a better text than any other Ms. or group of Mss. Hence, in cases where evidence from transcriptional probability is indecisive, the reading of Codex B is to be accepted, provided it can be shown from some ancient witness that the reading of B is not a mere individual eccentricity, peculiar to B alone.

3. The genealogical relations of the other older uncials and of the text underlying the Egyptian versions, and the question of the "Alexandrian Text," are still obscure.

4. The "Syrian Text" of K L P and most minuscules contributes nothing to the formation of a correct text.

5. The Old-Latin version was made from a text closely resembling that of B, but somewhat more emended.

These results tend, so far as they go, to confirm the main conclusions of the textual criticism of Tregelles, Westcott and Hort, and B. Weiss. It is to be observed that they apply only to the Epistle of James, and that many of the questions now at issue in the text of other parts of the New Testament do not arise here.

I. AUTHORITIES

1. *Uncials*. The following uncials contain James :

B	}	cent. iv.
Σ		
A	}	cent. v.
C		
048 (2)		
0166		
Σ ^c		cent. vii.
Ψ	}	cent. viii or ix.
049 (S)		
K ^{ac}	}	cent. ix.
L ^{ac}		
P ^{ac}		
056	}	cent. x.
0142		

Of the above no information is at hand concerning the text of Ψ, 049, 056, 0142.

2. *Minuscules*. Gregory's lists (*Die griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*, 1908; *Textkritik des Neuen Testamentes*, iii. 1909) include 478 minuscules ranging in date from cent. ix to cent. xviii, which contain, or may be presumed to contain, James. Of these no less than 139 are in the various libraries of Mt. Athos, 40 are in Paris, 39 in Rome, 31 in London. Minuscules are referred to by the numbers assigned in Gregory's latest list. The only minuscules known to be important are

33 (formerly 13^{ac}); cent. ix or x.

69 (formerly 31^{ac}), cent. xv (the Leicester codex).

Others than these two doubtless exist which contain interesting remains of ancient texts not wholly eliminated by conformation to the later standard. The present writer hopes to secure collations of all the minuscules of James, and would be grateful to any one who can furnish him with such collations.¹

3. *Versions.* The following ancient versions come in question :

- (1) Egyptian versions:
 - (a) Sahidic,
 - (b) Akhmimic,
 - (c) Middle Egyptian,
 - (d) Bohairic ;
- (2) Ethiopic version ;
- (3) Syriac versions :
 - (a) Peshitto,
 - (b) Harclean,
 - (c) Palestinian ;
- (4) Armenian version ;
- (5) Latin versions :
 - (a) Old-Latin :
 - ff. Cod. Corbeiensis,
 - s. Cod. Bobiensis,
 - m. Speculum ;
 - (b) Vulgate.

Not all of these versions are at present accessible in trustworthy editions. In the present study it has been possible to include only the Latin and Bohairic versions.

4. *Fathers.* Early patristic quotations from James are meagre, and do not contribute much to the establishment of the text. Later quotations have not yet been sufficiently studied to clear up the later history of the text.

¹ Since the above was written I have received from Mr. Martin Sprengling, of the University of Chicago, collations of all the Mss. of James at Jerusalem, Mt. Athos, Serres, and Kosinitza.

II. THE INDIVIDUAL CHARACTER OF THE CHIEF AUTHORITIES

NOTE.—In the following discussion the numbers are in nearly all cases only *approximate*, even when the word "about" has not been prefixed. They are, however, sufficiently accurate and complete to form a basis for the inferences here drawn.

1. *Codex B.*

Codex B, as will be shown below, has been adopted by all recent critical editors as the main basis of their text. It is probably the oldest Greek Ms. of James.² A thorough examination of the peculiarities of B by a competent philologist is perhaps the most pressing need of New Testament textual criticism at the present day.

B is written with many errors (*e.g.* Jas. 2 6 καθίσται), and has many noteworthy spellings (*e.g.* 3 14 ερειθίαν, 3 16 ερειθειαν), in which a certain degree of consistency seems to have been observed, as if it represented a definite formal recension of the text.³

It is notoriously characterized throughout the New Testament by many omissions of single words or short phrases found in other types of text and even in other Mss. of the same type. Thus out of 88 cases in which \aleph and B are at variance, 29 are cases of omission in B. On the other hand, the other older uncials very seldom omit words or phrases found in B.

The following are the only cases observed where other Mss. omit words found in B:

- 1 7 om. τ \aleph C
- 1 15 om. η [επιθυμία C (*tantum*)
- 3 7 om. τ ϵ A
- 4 9 om. κ α \aleph A

² Ezra Abbot, 'On the Comparative Antiquity of the Sinaitic and Vatican Manuscripts of the Greek Bible,' in *Critical Essays*, 1888, pp. 140-154.

³ Bousset, 'Textkritische Studien zum Neuen Testament' (*Texte und Untersuchungen*, xi. 4), 1894, pp. 102-110.

- 4 12 *om.* ο [δυναμενος A (*tantum*)
 4 18 *om.* εκει A
 5 5 *om.* και A
 5 10 *om.* εν A 048 KL
 5 12 *om.* μου 048

If we disregard purely orthographic and unessential grammatical details, B is in James decidedly more free from deliberate emendation than any other known document. This is shown by the following evidence:

(a) When B stands alone among all uncials, it is in most instances wrong; but only the following four out of thirteen such readings seem fairly to be classed as due to emendation (other than orthographic or grammatical), and of these the first two may very possibly give the right reading after all:

- 1 22 *ακροαται μονον for μονον ακροαται*
 2 3 *στηθι η καθου εκει for στηθι εκει η καθου*
 2 26 *om.* γαρ
 4 14 *επιστασθε της αυριον (sine το, τα)*

The following is a complete list of the other cases of every kind where B stands alone among uncials. They are either the true reading, or due to accidental error, or cases in which no clear decision can be reached from the internal evidence of the readings.

- 1 9 *om.* ο [αδελφος
 1 11 *om.* αυτου [απωλετο
 1 26 *χαλινων for χαλιναγωγων*
 2 4 *om.* ου
 3 4 + τα [τηλικαυτα
 3 6 *καθισται for καθισταται*
 3 14 *επειθιαν*
 3 16 *επειθεια*
 4 3 *δαπανησετε*
 4 14 *om.* η [ζωη
 5 11 *om.* ο [κυριος
 5 14 *om.* του κυριου
 5 20 + αυτου [και καλυψει

On the other hand, when the other older uncials stand alone among uncials, they show many demonstrable emendations; ⁴ thus:

⁴ The numbers are of course approximate, and mere orthography and grammar is not included.

✠ 21 emendations out of 28 such singular readings,
 A 23 emendations out of 43 such singular readings,
 C ($\frac{3}{8}$ of epistle) 5 emendations out of 12 such singular readings;
 while B has but 4 emendations out of 13 such singular readings.

(b) When the groups B ✠, B A depart from other uncials, there is no case where the group containing B offers a tolerably clear emendation. The group B C does show four small and somewhat doubtful emendations, viz.:

B C 1 26 καρδιαν] εαυτου for αυτου
 2 14 om. το [οφελος
 2 16 om. το [οφελος
 2 19 (ο) θεος εστιν for εστιν ο θεος

On the other hand groups not containing B, viz. : ✠ A, A C, show a fair number of clear emendations, *e.g.*

✠ A 2 5 βασιλειας
 2 20 νεκρα
 2 22 συνεργει
 4 9 μεταστραφητω
 A C 3 4 οπου αν βουληται

The group ✠ C appears only once against B A, and in that instance (1 τ om. τς) the reading of ✠ C seems to be an accidental error.

A complete examination of all the readings of B and their relationships will show that the text of B, while not perfect (perfection would imply something like a miracle), is on the whole the best text of James. Where detectable emendations are present in the text of the older uncials, the variant readings found in B evince themselves as corrupt less often than those of any other witness or group. No group among the uncials, and no group including uncials and early versions, is superior to B, provided B is supported by any other credible witness.

The authority nearest in text to B is the Old-Latin ff,⁵

⁵ Substantially the same Greek text as that of ff is exhibited in the Latin excerpts of the *Speculum* (m). The Vulgate differs more from B. Whereas ff departs from B in but 21 out of 129 significant loci of variation, the Vulgate departs from B in 36 of these.

which is discussed below. It stands much closer to B than does \aleph . It is, however, inferior to B, and in at least 14 instances the text of ff shows emendations which it shares with other uncials, but from which B is free. In no single case (omitting eccentricities where B has no Greek support whatever) has ff (with \aleph^c A K L P, etc.) preserved a reading clearly preferable to that of B. The text of ff is thus next to B in value. The adhesion of ff strengthens the argument for any reading; but ff does not, in fact, unite with any other witness to form a group superior to B *al*.

The text of the ancient base of Codex P was also closely related to B.

The outcome of these facts is that we have in B a text whose ancestry was kept free from the influence of much of the emendation which was practiced in the third and fourth centuries. Further, those who determined its character seem for some reason regularly to have preferred the *shorter* readings. By this practice they were probably preserved from adopting some emendations (which habitually enlarge), while on the other hand they were led to perpetuate some errors. The resemblance of the text of ff to that of B is due to the fact that the ancestor of ff was translated from a text (of a date not later than about 300 A.D.) which likewise had received but little emendation, although it had been exposed to some influences which did not touch the ancestry of B.

2. Other older uncials.

NOTE.—In the following examination of \aleph A C the absence of C in Jas. 4 *3-fn.* makes it necessary to divide the epistle into two parts and to treat the two divisions separately. In statistics relating to the second division (4 *3-fn.*) readings are not counted in which the variation is a peculiarity of one single uncial.

(1) Codex Sinaiticus. \aleph .

Differs from B	88 times
of which:	
longer reading is in \aleph	22 “
shorter “ “ “ “	6 “

mere orthographic or grammatical difference 15 times

ⲛ wholly alone	12	“
“ supported only by minuscules or versions	16	“
	<u>28</u>	

Of these 28 cases all appear to be wrong. About 7 are errors (all but one being unique readings of ⲛ); the rest are emendations.

B ⲛ alone among Greek Mss. 4 times

Two of these are the noteworthy readings

1 11 τροπης αποσκιασματος
5 4 αφυστερημενος

in both of which B ⲛ probably have the true reading.

B ⲛ with only minuscule support	5	times
B ⲛ against A C (1 1-4 2)	10	“
of which : B ⲛ probably right	5	“
doubtful	5	“

Of the doubtful cases 3 are small changes of order, 2 are mere spelling.

B ⲛ against A <i>al.</i> (4 3- <i>fin.</i>)	about 11	times
of which: B ⲛ probably right	7	“
“ “ wrong	1	“
doubtful	3	“

Of the doubtful cases 2 are small changes of order.

It thus appears that ⲛ shares with B some freedom from emendations which have influenced other uncials, but that B ⲛ do not constitute a well-marked group among the older uncials. ⲛ is more emended than B; and (whether in consequence of that, or partly through a different deliberate purpose on the part of those who controlled its ancestry) it is not so strongly affected by the preference for the shorter reading.

(2) Codex Alexandrinus. A.

Differs from B about	117	times
of which:		
longer reading in A	35	“
shorter “ “ “	9	“
A wholly alone	13	“
“ supported only by minuscules or versions	31	“

Of the 44 cases in which A has no uncial support, 35 seem by internal evidence to be probably wrong, 9 are doubtful; the great majority of the probably wrong readings are to be classed as emendations, but perhaps 8 are thoughtless errors.

The most striking fact about A is its connection with Codex 33 (formerly 13^{ac}; cent. ix or x). The mutilated condition of 33 makes complete statistics impossible, but out of about 155 readings of Cod. 33 given by Tregelles (*Greek Testament*, 1865) 92 show agreement of Cod. 33 with A. The relationship is still more clearly shown by the following instances in which the readings of A 33 stand with no uncial, and but little minuscule, support:

- 1 17 καταβαινων for -ον
- 1 19 και εστω for εστω δε
- 1 21 περισσευμα for περισσειαν
- 2 3 + των ποδων
- 2 7 και for ουκ
- 2 11 εγενου for γεγονας
- 2 13 κατακαυχασθω for κατακαυχεται
- 2 16 και ειπη for ειπη δε
- 3 3 μεταγομεν αυτων for αυτων μεταγομεν
- 3 9 γεγενημενους for γεγονοτας
- 4 11 αδελφοι μου αλληλων for αλληλων αδελφοι
- 4 13 οτ. εκει
- 5 3 εν ημεραις εσχαταις for εν εσχαταις ημεραις
- 5 10 οτ. λαβετε
- 5 18 εδωκεν υετον for εδωκεν τον υετον οτ υετον εδωκεν

Such a set of readings as 2 10,

πληρωσας τηρησει	33
πληρωσει	A
τηρηση	B C ff vg
τηρησει	K L P,

where conflation is apparent, is also of much interest.

For statistics about 33 see below.

The peculiar common readings of A 33 are nearly all due to deliberate emendation, and would seem to belong to a definite recension. May not the concurrence of A 33 represent the text of Hesychius? 33 contains the LXX prophets

(Holmes and Parsons 198) in a text which may be Hesychian (cf. Swete, *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, p. 80).

(3) Codex Ephraem. C. (Jas. 1 1-4 2, about two thirds of the epistle.)

Differs from B	48 times
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In this proportion the number for the whole epistle would be 72. In Jas. 1 1-4 2 \aleph differs from B 49 times, and in the whole epistle 88 times.

Of which:

longer reading in C	13 times
shorter " " "	4 "

C wholly alone	8 "
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C supported only by minuscules or versions	9 "
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Of these 17 cases where C has no uncial support, about 8 are probably emendations, 8 are thoughtless errors.

C thus shows characteristics almost exactly parallel to those of \aleph .

(4) Codex Patiriensis. 048 (2). Jas. 4 14-5 20, palimpsest.

In this portion of James occur 20 variant loci. In 10 of these 048 stands opposed to the unanimous testimony of \aleph A B (C being deficient), but in 9 of the others it agrees with one or more of these older uncials. It shows no strong tendency to agree with K L P, or with any special type of text as yet distinguishable.

048 was formerly at Rossano in southern Italy, but bears no sign of having originated in the West. It probably represents a type of text current in the East, possibly at some locality other than Alexandria. Sanday correctly describes it as "*codd. \aleph A C P non multo dissimilem.*"

(5) Corrector of Codex Sinaiticus. \aleph^c .

\aleph^c (cent. vii) has evidently made his laborious corrections in order to bring \aleph into harmony with some current standard text. So far as James is concerned, nothing is known which would forbid the view that this standard was the Caesarean text of Pamphilus, as is suggested by the well-known colophon introduced by \aleph^c at the close of Esther. The corrector

used a standard which seems to have been much like C, although the number of available instances in James is too small for certainty. It was more like A than like B, and as much like P as like A. It had no special resemblance to the text of K L P, except as that agrees with older uncials. With **Σ** it is not easy to compare it, because it cannot be assumed that the standard always agreed with **Σ** in those cases where the corrector has left no mark. Of readings unsupported by an uncial the corrector has introduced practically none in James. The text used by **Σ**^c was one of many eclectic texts; whether it has special historical significance has not at present been determined.

3. *Later uncials* : K L P.

Of the text of **Ψ** and **049** (formerly **S^{ac}**), both being uncial Mss. of cent. viii or ix, nothing is known; for **056** and **0142** (both of cent. x) the accessible collations are inadequate.

The uncials K L P, all of cent. ix, offer the earliest attestation of the text which prevails among later Mss. From the readings attested by two of the three Mss. K L P, the *Textus Receptus* (ed. Stephen, 1550) departs in only 28 instances. Of these 9 are either of trifling importance or are obvious accidental errors on the part of K L, leaving only 19 readings to be considered in reconstructing from those four authorities the genuine text of the Antiochian recension. Such a reconstruction, however, it is not worth while to attempt until a complete apparatus of the readings of all the minuscules has been assembled. In the meantime a sufficiently close approximation to the true text of this recension can be reached, by assuming that the agreement of any two of the three ninth-century uncials gives the reading of the recension. The amount of error introduced by this assumption will not be sufficient to affect the general conclusion reached.

The readings of this later text fall into two groups, (1) those which are not attested by any older uncial or by the Old-Latin, Vulgate, or Syriac version, (2) those which are so attested. Of the first class there are in James only about 32 instances. Of these are

internally doubtful	10
errors	3
emendations	19
	<u>32</u>

The emendations were made for fullness, clearness, grammatical and orthographical improvement, etc. Among the most noteworthy are

2 1 2 9 3 1 omission of -μ- in *προσωπολημψια, λημψομεθα*.

In 1 7 1 12 K L P are supported in this reading by C.

2 18 *εκ* for *χωρις*

2 24 + *τοιυνυ*

3 12 *ουδεμα* *πηγη αλυκον και γλυκυ* for *ουτε* (*αλ. ουδε*) *αλυκον γλυκυ*.

4 14 *δε και* for *Ⲭ A B K και*, 048 *δε*, perhaps a conflation of two readings.

No reading of this text without other uncial support has any strong internal probability of genuineness. But it is also evident that no considerable part of this text came into existence later than the fifth century.

The readings of the other class, in which the text of K L P is supported by older authorities, do not, when wrong, differ in essential character from those just discussed. Thus:

1 12 *ληψεται* C K L P

4 4 *μοιχοι και μοιχαλιδες* Ⲭ K L P, for *μοιχαλιδες*

5 7 + *νετον* A K L P

K L P do not show any close affiliation with any one, or with any group of two, of the older uncials, but their ancestor appears to have had rather more readings in common with A than with any other older Ms. They agree least often with B.

Whether, as commonly supposed, the agreement of K L P with older uncials is due to contamination of the ancestry of these older Mss. (cent. iv and v) from the Antiochian recension of the beginning of the fourth century, cannot be determined from the study of the text of James. It is equally possible that the agreement is due to the fact that the texts

of the several older uncials and that of KLP drew alike from a common body of current variants. The fact that, when KLP agree with one older uncial against the others, the reading is in nearly every case wrong, would merely prove that the authors of this recension consistently followed wrong principles of judgment about the readings which they found in existence, and so accumulated false readings.⁶

With regard to the Mss. KLP taken individually, the investigations of Weiss seem to show that no reading attested by one of them alone (or with very little minuscule support) against all other uncials is probably genuine. There is reason for thinking that L is perhaps the truest of the three to the type of the recension.

P stands by itself. In many instances it departs from KL, and agrees with older uncials, and in such cases often has the right reading. It is evidently the descendant of a Ms. of the type of B⁸AC into which had been introduced by correction a large part, but not the whole, of the readings of the Antiochian text. The result is a mixture, in which the two elements can be easily separated, and in which the readings not derived from the Antiochian recension are often correct.

⁶ Weiss, *Die katholischen Briefe*, pp. 56, 76 f., holds that many of the false readings of ⁸AC come from the emended text seen in KLP, on the ground that these readings have a homogeneous character, but his argument is too subjective to be convincing. Hort, *Introduction*, pp. 151 f., conceives that whereas it may well be that ⁸ is not *influenced* by the "Syrian" recension, but only "analogous in composition" to it, A and C have a text containing a distinct "Syrian" element. But in James, at least, there is no means of proving that A and C differ in this respect from ⁸. Unless certain readings can be shown to have originated with the Antiochian revisers, or unless the great number of Antiochian readings in any Ms. betrays its ancestry, there seems no positive reason for assuming direct influence in the case of early Mss. The result of direct but incomplete influence by the Antiochian recension on an older text can be instructively studied in P, 33, and 69. The sporadic nature of the agreement of ⁸AC individually with KLP speaks against rather than for the view of Weiss and Hort. The case of A in the Gospels (Hort, p. 152) is different, and might serve as an argument for assuming some degree of direct Antiochian influence in other parts of that Ms.

The affinities of K L P are clearly shown by the following statistics :

P departs from K L	66 times
Of which :	
P agrees with B	41 "
" " " no uncial	11 "
" " " \aleph	30 "
" " " A	31 "
" " " C	14 "
" " " ζ	6 "
P B agree against all other uncials	11 "
P \aleph " " " " "	3 "
P A " " " " "	2 "
P C " " " " "	3 "

The ancestor of P into which the Antiochian recension was corrected was thus a good Ms. which bore much closer resemblance to B than to any other extant uncial.

4. *Minuscules.*

The only minuscules which are thoroughly known are

33 (formerly 13^{ac}), cent. ix or x.

69 (formerly 31^{ac}), cent. xv, the Leicester codex.

The readings of both of these are accurately given by Tregelles, *Greek Testament*. The Mss. are both to be classed with P, as containing many readings which have survived from ancestors into which the Antiochian recension was incompletely introduced by correction.

The facts are as follows :

33 departs from K L P (or from two of them)	73 times
Of which :	
33 agrees with no uncial	20 "
" " " A	43 "
" " " B	21 "
" " " \aleph	27 "
" " " C	20 "
" " " P	20 "

69 departs from K L P (or from two of them) 33 times
Of which :

69 agrees with no uncial	13	"
" " " B	9	"
" " " Σ	9	"
" " " A	8	"
" " " C	7	"
" " " P	10	"

It thus appears that the ancient base of 33 was very closely related to A, but not specially akin to any other older uncial ; and that the base of 69 was an eclectic text about equally near to all the older uncials. Survivals of the ancient text are to be found in less degree in other minuscules.⁷ But it hardly seems likely that any genuine readings in James have been preserved in minuscules only, and such a reading, if it existed, would be recognizable only in a minuscule which was positively known to contain a considerable element of ancient readings not conformed to the Antiochian or any other late standard. The Textus Receptus was drawn from two or more Mss. (one being Codex 2) taken at random, not critically chosen for their text, but both Erasmus and the Complutensian editors present substantially the text of K L P.

5. *Latin versions.*

(1) Old-Latin.

ff. Codex Corbeiensis, cent. ix.

m. *Speculum Pseudo-Augustini*.

Excerpts from the Scriptures, perhaps made in cent. iv, and preserved in several Mss., of which the best is of cent. viii or ix. Includes 29 verses of James.

s. Codex Bobiensis, cent. v or vi.

(2) Vulgate.

In the following discussion Codex Amiatinus (c. 715 A.D.) is provisionally taken as representing the Vulgate.

The extraordinarily numerous variations found in the text of the Old-Latin Bible were due largely to differences of local Latin usage and to caprice, but probably also in some measure

⁷ Hort, *Introduction*, pp. 154 f., 156.

to learned revisions similar to that which produced the Vulgate, and were effected with the aid of Greek copies. In James, ff is substantially a pure Old-Latin text, not mixed with Vulgate readings,⁸ but its close kinship with the copy which was corrected in order to make the Vulgate is shown by the abundant agreement of ff and Vg, not only in vocabulary, but especially in the structure of sentences and the order of words.⁹ With these inferences corresponds the fact that Chromatius of Aquileia († c. 406), the friend of Jerome, uses the Latin version of James found in ff,¹⁰ and that the only probable allusion to James in the writings of Ambrose agrees with ff against Vg. The date of the version found in ff is thus not later than cent. iv.¹¹ Sanday (*Studia Biblica*, i. 1885, p. 258) thinks ff a local recension of North-Italian origin.¹²

The Latin version found in m (*Speculum Pseudo-Augustini*) is substantially that of Priscillian (Spain, † 385). It stands farther removed from both ff and Vg than they do from each other, but presents complicated relationships to these two. It is believed by Sanday to represent "a late African text," that is, "an African base . . . corrupted partly by internal development and partly by the admission of European readings."¹³ There is no sufficient evidence that m and ff rest upon two independent translations of James into Latin.¹⁴ On the con-

⁸ Wordsworth, *Studia Biblica*, i. pp. 126 f.

⁹ Sanday, *Studia Biblica*, i. pp. 258 f.

¹⁰ Chromatius, *Tract. in ev. S. Matth. ix. 1, xiv. 7*; quoted in full by Wordsworth, *Studia Biblica*, i. p. 135.

¹¹ Heer, *Die versio latina des Barnabasbriefes*, 1908, pp. xlv f., thinks that the translation of Barnabas contained in the Codex Corbeiensis was made after Tertullian and before Cyprian and Novatian, and points out that in the version of James the use of *salvare*, together with other indications, suggests a somewhat late date.

¹² P. Thielmann, *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie*, viii. 1893, p. 502, holds that ff is probably of African origin.

¹³ Sanday, *Classical Review*, iv. 1890, pp. 414-417; *Studia Biblica*, i. pp. 244 ff.

¹⁴ Sanday, *Old-Latin Biblical Texts*, No. II. 1887, p. cclv; cf. *Studia Biblica*, i. pp. 250, 259. Wordsworth's view (*Studia Biblica*, i. pp. 133 f.) that ff, Vg, m, and the quotations in Jerome's writings represent four distinct translations is wholly untenable.

trary, the identity of the Greek text underlying the two, as exhibited below, points to a single original translation, which has been modified in the interest of Latin style and local usage, and not in order to conform it to current Greek Mss. Since sufficient allowance of time must be made for the divergence of m and ff, the patristic evidence from the latter part of the fourth century shows that the original translation of James into Latin was made certainly not later than 350 A.D.¹⁵

That James was translated into Latin separately from other books (and probably later) is indicated by the peculiarities of the version itself,¹⁶ by the unique phenomenon of its inclusion with patristic treatises in Cod. Corbeiensis (ff),¹⁷ and also by the complaint of Augustine¹⁸ at the unusual badness of the translation of James, as well as by the fact that Cassiodorus, who in other cases took the Old Latin as the basis of comment in his *Complexiones in epistolas et acta apostolorum et apocalypsin*, in James found it best to use the Vulgate form.¹⁹

The Latin version found in s is so close to Vg that it is a question whether it ought not to be classed as a Vulgate Ms. (so Hort, *Appendix*, p. 83). It differs from Codex Amiatinus of the Vg scarcely more than Codex Fuldensis does, but is nearer to Am than to Fu. On the ground of resemblances to the Latin version used by Fulgentius of Ruspe († 533) and Facundus of Ermione († c. 570) White surmises that the elements in s which are divergent from the Vulgate "represent a stream of late African text."²⁰

Jerome probably revised the Latin version of the Acts and

¹⁵ Hilary of Poitiers, *De trin.* iv. 8, writing in the Greek East in 356-358, seems to make his own translation of Jas. 1.17 (Zahn, *Grundriss der Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons*, p. 68).

¹⁶ Westcott, *Canon of the New Testament*,⁷ pp. 270 f. The case with 2 Peter is similar; cf. Westcott, *l.c.* pp. 269 f.

¹⁷ Zahn, *Geschichte des neutest. Kanons*, i. p. 324.

¹⁸ Augustin., *Retract.* ii. 32, *Adiuvant* (sc. Augustine's *adnotationes*, now lost) ergo aliquid, nisi quod ipsam epistolam, quam legebamur quando ista dictavi, non diligenter ex Graeco habebamus interpretatam.

¹⁹ Cf. Zahn, *ibid.*

²⁰ *Old Latin Biblical Texts*, No. IV. 1897, p. xxi.

epistles, in 384-385 A.D., as he had that of the gospels in 383 A.D., but his revision of the former books was superficial and imperfect; it "does not represent the critical opinion of Jerome, even in the restricted sense in which this is true of the text of the Gospels."²¹ It is noteworthy that in Jerome's own quotations from James he does not follow the Vulgate.²²

With regard to the Greek text underlying the several forms of the Latin version of James the following may be said.

(1) The text of ff is of the same type as that of the older Greek uncials, and resembles B in particular more closely than does any Greek Ms. In 129 loci where variation is attested by Greek uncial Mss., it is possible to determine the Greek text underlying ff. In only 21 of these does the text of ff differ from B.²³ From \aleph it differs at least twice as many times, and from A and C still more often. It shows no affinity to the text of K L P.

The 21 cases of divergence may be classified as follows:

Eccentricities of B	3
Emendations in ff	15
Error " "	1
Doubtful	2
	<hr/> 21

It thus appears that ff shows a text considerably more emended than that of B. These emendations are in agreement with readings of one or another of the uncials, but show no particular relation to any one of them.

The following readings of ff are of special interest:

1 17 *vel modicum obumbrationis*, cf. B \aleph η τροπης αποσκιασματος.

²¹ Westcott, 'Vulgate,' in Smith, *Dict. Bible*, p. 3479, cf. p. 3460; cf. J. Wordsworth, *Studia Biblica*, i. p. 128, H. J. White, 'Vulgate,' in Hastings, *Dict. Bible*, iv. pp. 874, 883.

²² Wordsworth, *l.c.*, p. 134.

²³ In addition to these I have noted 5 cases (4 being omissions) where the only Greek support of ff is one (or a very small number) of the minuscules. These cases may well be due to carelessness, or freedom, on the part of the translator. Similarly, certain cases where ff is only supported by versions are not included in the above count.

2 18 *tu operam habes ego fidem habeo*, an unfortunate, and unique, emendation.

5 20 *animam de morte sua*, cf. B (*tantum*) *ψυχην εκ θανατου αυτου*.

(2) The Greek text underlying *m* is substantially the same as that of *ff*. It agrees with *ff* in 34 cases where there are attested Greek variants, and differs from it in only 13. Of these 13, 7 (isolated, or nearly isolated, aberrations) are probably due to error in *m*, not to underlying Greek text, 1 probably is due to such error in *ff*. In the remaining 5 cases *ff* and *Vg* (Cod. Amiat.) agree against *m*; but these cases are not sufficient in number or character to justify any inference.

(3) The Greek text underlying *Vg* is largely the same as that of *ff* and *m*. The facts are as follows:

Cases noted where variation actually found	
among Greek uncials would show in the	
Latin translation ²⁴	about 130
Among these:	

<i>ff</i> and <i>Vg</i> agree	about 102 times
“ “ “ differ	“ 28 “

In these 28 cases *Vg* is supported 8 times by *B*, always by one or more uncials, but only twice by the text of *KLP* against the older uncials.

The case is similar with *m*, which covers in its excerpts only a portion of the epistle.

Significant cases	about 40
<i>m</i> and <i>Vg</i> agree	27 times
“ “ “ differ	13 “

Among these 13 cases *Vg* is supported by *C* in 5 out of 6 possible instances; by *B* in 7 cases; but only once by the text *KLP* against the older uncials.

²⁴ In this enumeration are omitted at least 2 cases where *ff* and *Vg* agree against all uncials with support only from a Greek minuscule or from versions; also 3 cases where *ff* has no uncial support, and 9 cases where *Vg* has no uncial support. Most of these are probably due to the Latin translator and revisers, not to any Greek variant. In any case they are too few to affect the bearing of the evidence.

The general inferences to be drawn from these facts are plain. (1) Since these three forms of the Latin version go back to substantially the same Greek text, it is highly unlikely that they represent two independent translations. As between ff and m later influences from current Greek texts have not been at work to any considerable extent to draw them apart, for even in their present late form they show an almost identical underlying Greek text. Their many mutual divergences are internal to the Latin version, and do not represent Greek variants.

(2) On the other hand, while the Vulgate is clearly a revision of a Latin text closely like ff, the Greek text which it represents differs somewhat from both ff and m; the greater part of these differences are doubtless due to the learned revision of Jerome.

(3) The third-century Greek source of this Latin translation may have contained original readings not preserved in any extant Greek Ms., but it would be unsafe to accept any readings on Latin evidence only, so long as there were a possibility of explaining them as idiosyncrasies of the translator or of a Latin reviser.

6. *Bohairic version.*

The Bohairic version, as found in the text of Horner's edition, clearly belongs with the text of B \aleph A C, and shows no kinship to that of K L P. But it betrays no special relation to any one, or to any group, of the older uncials. It is another eclectic text parallel to \aleph , A, and C.

III. HISTORY OF THE TEXT, AND USE OF THE AUTHORITIES

1. *History.*

Of the four types of text distinguished by Westcott and Hort the "Western text" drops out in James. The book was too little known in the second century to suffer the textual alteration which then befell other parts of the New Testament; and neither can any witness or group of witnesses be called "Western," nor does any series of readings clearly exhibit the special characteristics of that text. The other three types are easily distinguished. The "Syrian text" is represented by the ninth-century uncials K L (P) and by

the mass of minuscules; the "Neutral text" by B and ff; the "Alexandrian text" by \aleph A C and the Bohairic version. A study of these groups leads, however, to a somewhat different statement of their relations from that made by W H. It is to be borne in mind that the following observations relate solely to the Epistle of James, taken by itself, without reference even to the other Catholic epistles.

The outlines of the history of the text of James can be made out as follows:

At the date when the Epistle of James first comes clearly to light, early in the third century, the explicit statements of Origen²⁵ show that the text of the New Testament had already fallen into much confusion, and that many variant readings were in circulation. In the text of James we have from the fourth century direct evidence (B \aleph , ff m Vg) of a great number of variants, and from these the many other variants attested by fifth-century witnesses (A C 048, Peshitto) do not differ in any essential character. These early variants, in existence before 500 A.D., but for which the precise date of origin cannot be determined, are mostly due to more or less deliberate emendation. Accidental errors, however, also occur. These latter are, indeed, more common in earlier than in later Mss., for in the later texts the process of careful copying naturally tended to eliminate obvious errors.

Of the authorities, no one is "neutral," in the strict sense of being wholly free from these emendations, although this is more nearly true of B than of any other document.²⁶ Nor is it possible to isolate any single and distinct "Alexandrian text," of the sort which Westcott and Hort believed to have proceeded from a learned and skillful hand at or before the beginning of the third century.²⁷ What we have is rather a great mass of early emendations, most of them, it is true, found in Alexandrian documents (B \aleph A C, Cyril, Bohairic), but equally present in 048 (which is not known to be connected with Alexandria), the Vulgate, and the Peshitto.

²⁵ *Comm. in Matth.* tom. xv. 14. *ὅτι δὲ δηλονότι πολλὰ γέγονεν ἢ τῶν ἀντιγράφων διαφορά, εἴτε ἀπὸ ῥαθυμίας τινῶν γραφέων, εἴτε ἀπὸ τὸ λῆψαι τινῶν μοχθηρῶς τῆς διορθώσεως τῶν γραφομένων, εἴτε καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τὰ ἑαυτοῖς δοκοῦντα ἐν τῇ διορθώσει προστιθέντων ἢ ἀφαιρούντων.*

²⁶ Next to B in this respect stands the Old-Latin ff.

²⁷ See Hort's statement in Gregory, *Textkritik*, ii. p. 919.

From this store of readings, genuine, emended, and erroneous, the several documents evidently drew according to individual taste and preference, and thus produced a number of eclectic texts. The recension of Hesychius of Alexandria († 312) is historically attested,²⁸ but has not as yet been satisfactorily identified among the readings of our documents for James. The same is to be said of the recension of Pamphilus of Cæsarea († 309), although this may perhaps be represented in part²⁹ by the corrections of \aleph^c . The common readings of A 33 seem to point to the deliberate recension of some definite editor (Hesychius?).

The only influential recension of the text of James which can be traced with any confidence is that represented by the ninth-century uncials K L P, by the Textus Receptus, and probably by most minuscules. From the analogy of other parts of the New Testament where evidence from the Antiochian fathers is more abundant,³⁰ it may be assumed that in James also this text goes back to the fourth century and to Antioch, and the conjecture which associates it with the recension of Lucian of Antioch († 311) is very likely correct.³¹

This recension became the prevailing text of the Greek church, superseding all others, and many Mss. must have been corrected to conform to it. A good idea of what such a Ms. would be like may be gained from the present state of \aleph , to which an analogous process of correction has been applied. The result, however, was that in many lines of textual transmission a part only of the Antiochian readings were introduced; and accordingly, when such Mss. as P and many minuscules (notably 33 and 69) were copied, a large

²⁸ Jerome, *Praef. in vers. paralip.*; *Apol. contra Rufinum*, ii. 26; *De viris ill.* 77; *Ad Damas. praef. in ev.*; *Decretum Gelasianum*, vi. 14, 15. See Bousset, 'Textkritische Studien zum Neuen Testament' (*Texte und Untersuchungen*, xi. 4), 1894.

²⁹ Bousset, 'Textkritische Studien zum Neuen Testament' (*Texte und Untersuchungen*, xi. 4), 1894, pp. 44-73; cf. esp. pp. 71-73.

³⁰ The quotations from James in Chrysostom yield no result for textual criticism.

³¹ Westcott and Hort, *Introduction*, p. 138.

number of non-antiochian readings, which had not been eliminated from their ancestors, were perpetuated in these mainly Antiochian descendants. Whether the uncials \aleph A C betray influence from the Antiochian recension, or only show accidental agreement with it, is at present impossible to say. Of the later history of this text and its ramifications and local forms nothing is at present known, although the materials are abundant.³²

2. *Use of the authorities.*

Since most of the important variants were thus in existence as early as the fourth century,³³ it is evident that the value of the documents is not mainly to be determined by their date, or even by the date of the recension which they may represent. Ancient documents must be treated like modern editions; their worth depends on the materials available for them and on the soundness of the principles or tastes which guided their formation. The main task of textual criticism is to discover the character of these principles or tastes.

In the text of James genealogical relationship between Mss. (or even between types of text), which would serve as an external guide to the value of the evidence, is wholly lacking. In the investigation of the internal evidence but limited help is to be had from "groups"; the only groups that can at present be treated as distinct critical entities are B ff, A 33, K L P *al.* (the "Antiochian recension").

The practical outcome of the investigation is as follows.

As in the rest of the New Testament, the Antiochian text of K L P *al.* proves on examination to contain no distinctive readings which commend themselves as probably original. This is due not to its lateness, but to the systematic preference of its editor (or of a series of editors and copyists) for textual improvements which had been made at various

³² H. von Soden, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, i. 1902-7, has undertaken to trace this for the gospels.

³³ The isolated variants of the minuscules (variants many of which, even when known, are very properly left unmentioned in Tischendorf's apparatus) do not in most cases come seriously into question.

times in the interest of "lucidity and completeness."³⁴ We are therefore tolerably safe in refusing to accept its testimony in the comparatively few cases where its distinctive readings might in themselves have some degree of plausibility. The peculiar common element of A 33 is also due to emendation.

On the other hand, the text of B ff, while not absolutely free from obviously emended readings, proves to be much freer from them than is that of any other document. Moreover the text of B shows less trace of emendation than that of ff. Accordingly, if due precaution is taken against admitting unsupported errors due to the eccentricity of B, it is a sound rule, and indeed the only possible one, that in cases where "internal evidence of readings" is not decisive the reading of B should be followed. Since, however, B is by no means free from error and even emendation, positive evidence from "transcriptional" or other internal probability will outweigh the authority of B.

The use of the witnesses other than B is thus twofold. First, when they disagree with B, their readings may positively commend themselves by their internal character as superior. Secondly, when they agree with B, they serve as guarantee that the reading of B is not due to the idiosyncrasy of that Ms., and also, by affording evidence of the wider currency of the reading, they somewhat strengthen confidence in it.

The statement of Hort (*Introduction*, p. 171), which seems to mean that the authorities for the Catholic epistles stand in order of excellence B \propto 33 C A P, is substantiated (at any rate for the uncials) in the Epistle of James.

The rule above stated cannot be presumed to yield a perfect text. The result will probably include some undetectable errors.³⁵ It will, however, certainly contain fewer

³⁴ Hort, *Introduction*, pp. 134 f., "Entirely blameless on either literary or religious grounds as regards vulgarized or unworthy diction, yet showing no marks of either critical or spiritual insight, it [the Antiochian recension] presents the New Testament in a form smooth and attractive, but appreciably impoverished in sense and force, more fitted for cursory perusal or recitation than for repeated and diligent study."

³⁵ Cf. Burkitt, 'The Rules of Tyconius' (*Texts and Studies*, iii), 1894, p. cxviii: "The general character of the 'Neutral' text, so often represented by B alone, stands on a sure basis, but B may here and there desert that text by an interpolation or by a substitution which may not necessarily be self-betraying."

"These, however, are but secondary considerations compared with the general result, that in the Old Testament as in the New the text of our oldest Mss. as a whole is proved by the evidence of the versions to be im-

emended readings than would be introduced by following the guidance of any other document or group of documents; and this is the chief requisite of a sound text, since in texts of the New Testament false readings, if supported by more than one document, are much more frequently due to emendation than to accident.

IV. CRITICAL EDITIONS

As the Textus Receptus of James is founded on Codex 2, so the critical text of the nineteenth-century editors (Tregelles, 1865; Tischendorf, eighth edition, 1872; Westcott and Hort, 1881; B. Weiss, 1892, ²1902) is founded, in varying proportions, on Codices B and \aleph . Of readings found neither in B nor in \aleph , only 6 (apart from mere divergences of spelling) seem to have been included in one or more of these editions:

- 1 17 αποσκιασμα Tr T WH Ws
- 2 19 εις ο θεος εστιν Ws
- 4 8 δαπανησητε Tr T WH
- 4 13 ενα Ws²
- 4 14 ποια γαρ Tr T
- 5 18 εδωκεν νετον Tr T

Tregelles departs from B (omitting spelling) 33 times.

Tischendorf, eighth edition, departs from B 38 times, in 30 of which he agrees with Tregelles, by whom in general he appears to have been influenced. When Tregelles and Tischendorf depart from B, they adopt the reading of \aleph , except in the 4 cases given above.³⁵

Westcott and Hort depart from B in only 12 readings (besides 3 cases of mere spelling), and in all except 2 of these they follow \aleph . In 10 out of the 12 cases B stands alone among Greek Mss.

Weiss departs from B 19 times and adopts the reading of \aleph in all but 3 of these.

mensely superior to the later eclectic texts commonly used in the Greek-speaking churches from the middle of the fourth century. These later revisions sometimes preserve valuable fragments of older texts which would otherwise have been lost altogether, but it is for such fragments alone that these recensions are valuable, and not for their continuous text."

³⁵ B and \aleph differ in about 88 instances, of which at least 12 are mere spelling.

Notes on Gospel Chronology

BENJ. W. BACON

YALE UNIVERSITY

THE New Testament has but one author who writes in the style and with the purpose of a historian, and but one date even in this author fully reckoned out according to prevailing methods by synchronisms. It is apparent, therefore, that the date so elaborately fixed in Lk. 3 1 is to the author the all-important date; and this it is, not of course because of the appearance of John the Baptist, a subordinate figure, but because it determines the baptism of Jesus and therewith the beginning of the drama of redemption. The Lucan reckoning becomes, therefore, the necessary starting point for modern discussion, as it would seem to have been for patristic chronography.

To its own detriment Gospel chronology has heretofore been made dependent on harmonization, a method now condemned on principles of historical criticism. The first postulate was: All the sources must rest upon the same substantial datings. In the present discussion the aim will be to ascertain and appraise independently all systems of dating presented or implied in the sources considered separately, to note the extent of agreement, and to draw conclusions upon comparison of their differences.

A. THE LUCAN SYSTEM

1. **The Baptism.** We have six synchronisms in Lk. 3 1, "the fifteenth year of Tiberius" and the administrations respectively of Pilate (deposed early in 36), Antipas (deposed in 38), Philip (*ob.* 33-34), Lysanias (unknown), and Annas and Caiaphas. Of these the last is incorrectly stated, only

Caiaphas having been high priest A.D. 18-35. All after the first are indeterminate. Tib. xv, if the practice of writers later than Nerva (A.D. 95) was followed, might mean the year beginning Jan. 1, A.D. 28. More probably the years were counted as beginning with the accession, Aug. 19, A.D. 14, in which case Tib. xv would mean the year *ending* Aug. 19, A.D. 29. More probably still Luke reckons, like Josephus, from Passover (*cf.* Ac. 27 9); *i.e.* Tib. xv = Apr. A.D. 28-Apr. A.D. 29. Reckonings from Tiberius' co-regency (*ca.* 11-12 A.D.) are scarcely admissible. The Baptism, accordingly, is dated by Luke in the twelvemonth beginning somewhere from Apr. A.D. 28 to Aug. A.D. 29. The crucifixion might be in either 29 or 30. Patristic chronographers date it accordingly sometimes as Tib. xv, sometimes Tib. xvi. In either case they probably mean the same, viz. the "year of the two Gemini," *i.e.* of the consuls L. Rubellius Geminus and C. Fufius (*var.* Rufius, Rufus, Furius) Geminus = A.D. 29. For the year of the crucifixion was the starting point in all early reckonings, not that of the beginning of the ministry, still less that of the nativity. "The year of the two Gemini" as that of Jesus' death and resurrection was a constant of primitive Christian chronology which Turner gives good ground for regarding as having antedated even our third gospel itself.¹

2. **The Nativity.** Lk. 3 23 gives us a relative dating for Jesus' birth; for this is said to have taken place "about" 30 years before the baptism, *i.e.* B.C. 2-1. This is not seriously out of harmony with 1 5, where the opening scenes of the gospel story—not merely of the birth of the Baptist—are laid "in the days of Herod the king" (*ob.* B.C. 4; see

¹ *S.v.* "Chronology of the N. T." in Hastings' *BD*, i. pp. 403 ff. On p. 414 *b* Turner rightly emphasizes the fact that the primary chronological interest was in the date of the Passion and Resurrection, other dates all representing mere inferences from this: "Here was to every Christian eye from the first the turning point of the world's evolution"; and the Church's Confession had always put in the forefront the historical setting "under Pontius Pilate" (1 Tim. 6 13). Turner might well have added a reference to the annual commemoration of the Redemption by Quartodecimans since apostolic times.

under 7 on the agreement of Luke's *sources* with Mt. 2 16); it conflicts seriously, however, with Lk. 2 2, where the census at the time of Jesus' birth is declared to be the famous one again referred to in Ac. 5 37, "the first census, the one made when Quirinius was governor of Syria" (Greek). All expedients for identifying this census with some statistical measure "in the days of Herod the king" are futile, since the census in question was for the Jewish world the epoch-making event of the century, when Judæa lost the last semblance of independence. This measure of incorporation into the empire was carried out according to Josephus by Quirinius,² after the deposition of Archelaus in A.D. 6-7. It was remembered not only for the desperate revolt it provoked (referred to in Ac. 5 37), but for the bone of perpetual contention it furnished thenceforth to Jewish casuistry. "Is it lawful to pay the *census* to Cæsar?"³ To suggest a possible employment of Quirinius in Syria in some other capacity than "governor," since his predecessors, M. Titius, C. Sentius Saturninus, and P. Quintilius Varus, cover by their tenures the whole period from before B.C. 9 till after the death of Herod, and thus to make room for another unknown census taken while Herod was king, is a mere subterfuge. On the other hand, Zahn and Spitta have recently shown⁴ that Josephus rather than Luke may be the author who is here principally in error. Revolts took place in B.C. 4-2 in all parts of Herod's dominions, that in Galilee being led by a certain Judas, whom Schürer declares to be "certainly identical" with the famous leader of the revolt "in the days of the Census." Quirinius is known to have been proconsul of Syria in B.C. 4-2, but *not* at the time alleged by Josephus. In fact, Josephus is particularly ill-informed as to the period of the census. Whether, then, Luke be right or wrong in

² *Ant.* XVII. xiii. 5 and XVIII. i. 1. See, however, the suggestion of Spitta below, as to a possible error of Josephus regarding the date of Quirinius' appointment.

³ Mk. 12 14.

⁴ Cf. Zahn, "Die Syrische Statthalterschaft u. d. Schätzung d. Quirinius" in *N. Kirchl. Zts.* 1893, and Spitta, "Die chronol. Notizen," etc., in *Zts. f. ntl. W.* 1906.

connecting the name of Quirinius with the census, and whether it be allowable or not to think of the census as occurring in B.C. 3-2, the mention of the proconsulship of Quirinius indicates B.C. 3-2 as the date really intended.⁵

If this explanation be found inadmissible, there is no insuperable difficulty in attributing to an author guilty of the glaring anachronisms of Ac. 5 36 f. the antedating by some ten years of the census of Quirinius. It certainly did not occur "in the days of Herod the king." The explanatory way in which Lk. 2 2 is interjected suggests that the whole effort to connect the story of the birth in Bethlehem with Quirinius and the famous census is only a somewhat blundering attempt to connect with outside history, similar to that of Ac. 11 28, where the local Palestinian famine of A.D. 46-47 is universalized.

3. **Duration of the Ministry.** The synchronisms of Lk. 3 1, so elaborately constructed, yet followed by no date for the Passion and Resurrection, nor any intimation that more than a year expired before this culmination of the drama of redemption, suggest that Luke in common with practically the entire body of the Christian church down to the time of Eusebius, understood literally the reference to "the acceptable year of the Lord" (Is. 61 2) placed in the mouth of Jesus in his programmatic address (Lk. 4 19). At least there is no indication in the third gospel of departure from the general synoptic type derived from Mark, in which events lead up to the final Passover, as if all fell within the limits of the single ecclesiastical year.

Attempts to determine the duration of the ministry from indirect indications of the evangelists should be distinguished from determinations of their own conception. It is possible and even probable that the evangelists' conceptions had in course of a generation or more become affected by the primitive practice of observing the 14th Nisan as the anniversary

⁵ Since the above was in type an article has appeared in the *Zts. f. ntl. Wiss.* x. 4, 1909, from the pen of Rev. Wm. Weber of Pittsburgh, Pa., supporting the view of Spitta, and offering the conjecture that the name "Sabinus" in *Ant.* xvii. 221 ff. represents a misreading by Josephus of his Aramaic source (Nicholas of Damascus), which had *Quirinius*.

of the Lord's death. This would tend to give to the gospel drama a cyclic character, condensing into the limits of a single ecclesiastical year events which really exceeded them. But the data commonly cited in favor of its longer duration fall far short of their object. They not only fail to remove the discrepancy between synoptic and Johannine tradition (see below, under 8), but even absolutely they do not require much extension of the synoptic single year. The cyclic conception would not be dominant at so early a period if the ministry had really extended over much more than a year, and 18 months are quite sufficient to account for known events. Mk. 2 23 (not in chronological order) and 6 39 may be taken to imply a Passover season spent in Galilee. The fact that Jesus has friends in Peræa and Judæa (Lk. 10 38 Mk. 11 2 14 3 15 43 (?)) has no bearing on the case unless all Jesus' friendships are to be dated after the opening of the ministry. Lk. 13 7 is wholly inapplicable, and equally the quotation Mt. 23 34-39 (*cf.* Lk. 11 49), where the personified "Wisdom of God" complains in a figure derived from Ps. 91 4 that *her* repeated appeals to Jerusalem through "prophets and 'wise men' and scribes" have been in vain. All this, accordingly, does not carry us beyond the fact that Jesus' public ministry extended probably over two Passover seasons. It does not warrant us in assuming that Luke or even Mark so understood.

4. **Patristic Dating.** The Lucan chronology, with which we are now dealing, starts from some point in the fifteenth year of Tiberius (April A.D. 28-Aug. A.D. 29), placing the Nativity 30 years before, and the Passion 12 months after. This chronology became dominant by the middle of the second century, especially among Gnostic exploiters of the symbolism of the numbers 30 and 12.⁶

Even in the particular of the one-year ministry it remained unaltered for a full century after the general acceptance of the fourth gospel with its three Passovers (2 13 *ff.* 6 4 11 55 *ff.*) made modification seemingly unavoidable. Against opponents of the fourth gospel, who pointed to this

⁶ Irenæus, *Her.* II. xxii.

contradiction, Apollinaris of Hierapolis, and perhaps Melito of Sardis, had maintained a two-year ministry. Irenæus (A.D. 186) attempts to harmonize by the assumption of a ministry of 20 years' duration. Later harmonizers perhaps employed thus the traditional 12 years before the Dispersion of the Twelve (below, ii. B, 3). "Tradition" in Eusebius' time had settled down to the explanation, which he himself adopts, that "the three evangelists recorded only the deeds done by the Savior for one year after the imprisonment of John the Baptist, . . . but John in his Gospel records the deeds of Christ which were performed before the Baptist was cast into prison. . . . One who understands this can no longer think that the Gospels are at variance with one another." (*HE*, III. xxiv.) The great Paschal Controversy, whose first outbreak (A.D. 154) coincides with efforts of the learned world to readjust the systems of dating, led to many attempts at absolute chronologies, of which the paschal cycle of Hippolytus at Rome (A.D. 224) was the ultimate outcome. These endeavor to carry back an exact reckoning of all gospel events to the very day and hour of the Nativity. One in particular, traceable to Alexander of Jerusalem (A.D. 218), and claiming to go back to "apostolic documents,"⁷ attempts not merely to fix by consulships the date of the great ecclesiastical anniversaries, but also to harmonize the Lucan chronology with the supposed requirements of John.⁸ Omitting the days of the month the datings are as follows: Nativity, A.D. 9; Baptism, A.D. 46; Crucifixion, A.D. 58 (!); Resurrection, Mar. 25,⁹ A.D. 58.

In all later attempts, and nearly all of the second century,

⁷ An early form of the *Acts of Pilate* is probably meant. The Cappadocians, from among whom Alexander came, kept the (Christian) Passover on the vernal equinox of the Julian calendar (Mar. 25; others Mar. 18, the date of the sun's entrance into Aries). This fixation of the anniversary of the feast of the Redemption on Mar. 25 is the main point of the Alexander fragment. But the Cappadocians adduced as their authority for the practice the *Acts of Pilate*.

⁸ Dobschütz, *T. u. U.* xi. 1, pp. 136 ff.

⁹ On the significance of this date see below, B 2. Mar. 25 fell on Saturday in A.D. 58, a discrepancy in the source.

the fixed point is the so-called "year of the two Gemini" for the year of the Passion. It is from this, reckoned as Tib. xvi, that in Turner's opinion the synchronisms of Lk. 3 1 are calculated. Manifestly the practice of observing the anniversary of Jesus' death and resurrection as a Christian feast of redemption coincidently with the Jewish Passover, a practice amply attested as in vogue since the times of the apostles, if not alluded to by Paul himself (I Cor. 5 7 15 20), would make the determination of the year from which this so-called "Quartodeciman" practice originated a matter for precise determination at a *very* early period.

5. *Relation to John.* More important support for the Lucan chronology than the adhesion of the second century fathers may be found in Jn. 2 20. In spite of some ancient authorities¹⁰ who apply the reference to Solomon's or Zerubabel's temple, it seems more probable that the author has carefully reckoned out the synchronism of 46 years completed since the beginning of Herod's enterprise (B.C. 20-19, Turner), making the ministry begin with the Passover of 26 and end with that of 29. If with Irenæus we take the feast of Jn. 5 1 as a Passover, as well as 6 4, the duration of the ministry will be reckoned at three years and Jesus' age as 49. This author's divergence in other respects from synoptic tradition (below, *D*) cannot therefore affect his clear acceptance of the main factor in the Lucan chronology, the year 29 for the Crucifixion. Whether this acceptance is due to independent tradition, or merely ranks the writer of Jn. 2 20 with later chronographers who depend on Luke, must be decided by our judgment of the value of the date, and of the two systems respectively. It stands, at all events, as a confirmation of 29 as the traditional year of the Crucifixion and corroborates our interpretation of Lk. 3 1.

We must inquire later as to the duration of the ministry, and of Jesus' life, implied in Jn. 2 20, and in the fourth gospel as a whole.

¹⁰ *Gosp. of Nicod. and De Mont. Sina et Sion.*

B. CRITICISM OF THE LUCAN CHRONOLOGY

In spite of this array of second century support, very serious reason exists to question the accuracy of the date Tib. xvi (*i.e.* the year of the two Gemini) implied in Lk. 3 1, independent of the evidences of this author's superficiality elsewhere. The mere fact that ancient and modern chronographers have not ventured further from it than to extend the duration of the ministry in the interests of harmony, or to make some other reckoning of the years of Tiberius is not a guarantee; and if the pivotal date of Lk. 3 1 with the connected "year of the two Gemini" be invalidated, the whole chain of derived chronologies falls with it.

1. **The Calendar Argument.** It is a statement of all the Gospels, of practically universal acceptance,¹¹ that the Crucifixion occurred on a Friday. The Gospels differ, however, as to its having occurred before (John) or after (synoptics) the Passover supper, *i.e.* on the 14th or 15th of the lunation Nisan, which was invariably that of the first full moon after vernal equinox. Astronomical calculation can determine within limits of reasonable certainty on what years of Pilate's administration Nisan 14 fell on Thursday, which would make the year possible from the point of view of the synoptic writers; or on Friday, which would agree with John. No year in which Nisan 14 fell *neither* on Thursday or Friday can possibly have been that of the Crucifixion.

Naturally this method of determination by exclusion has been repeatedly applied, but with varying results, not from uncertainty in the astronomical calculations, which determine with exactness the day and hour of what should have been the Passover full moon, but from uncertainty as to the degree of approximation to this date with which the feast was appointed by the Jewish authorities. It admits, however, of positive demonstration¹² that the day of the month was fixed

¹¹ An exception must be made of E. Schwartz ("Osterbetrachtungen," *Z. nt. W.* vii. 1, 1906, pp. 37 ff.), who considers that the observance of "the Lord's day" as the resurrection day and of *Wednesday and Friday as fast days* (Διδ. viii. 1) arose independently of the events of Passion week.

¹² *Preaching of Peter ap. Clem. Al., Strom.* vi. 5; cf. Bacon, "Incidence of Passover," in *Expositor*, July, 1900.

by actual observation of the moon's *phasis* at the beginning of the lunation. The day preceding that night in which two credible witnesses had seen the slender crescent of the new moon was "sanctified" on the following day (second of the month), according to the requirements of the Talmudic treatise on "The Beginning of the Year," as the first of the month. The new moon of Nisan (first month of the year) was, of course, the most important. Several uncertainties remain, however, to limit our process of exclusion.

a. Whether a given lunation should be regarded as the first of the new year (Nisan) or added (by intercalation) to form the last of the old (Veadar), would admit of doubt only when full moon nearly coincided with spring equinox. Jewish astronomy was not equal to the task of determining the equinox more nearly than within one or two days, and the rules given for choice of the lunation Nisan are therefore quite crude and empirical. In such ambiguous years two possible lunations must be calculated, either of which may have been Nisan.

b. Cloudy weather might delay the "sanctification" of Nisan 1. The delay, however, *could not exceed 24 hours*, because of the rule limiting the months to 30 days.¹³ We must therefore include in our calculations both the 14th and 15th Nisan.

c. The Synoptic Gospels represent the Crucifixion as taking place on Nisan 15; John, with greater probability (below, *D*, 2), on Nisan 14. Two days must be admitted as possible in each Nisan on this score. Fortunately, the allowance largely cancels that of *b*; for a delayed Nisan 14 would coincide with Nisan 15.

With these allowances to cover all uncertainties it becomes possible to rule out certain years, in which, on no admissible supposition, either Nisan 14 or 15 could have fallen on a Friday.

¹³ Turner, *ibid.* p. 412, declares it as "one of the rules which may well go back to our Lord's time that Adar never consisted of more than 29 days." This would still further reduce the elements of uncertainty our tables are designed to cover, but the authority is not stated.

The subjoined table, taken substantially from Fotheringham (*Journ. of Philol.* 1903, p. 100 ff.), avoids the crudity of those previously constructed on the uniform average allowance of 36 hours between astronomical new moon and phasis.¹⁴ By determining the astronomical conditions of visibility in each lunation in terms of the moon's Mean Anomaly and Latitude of the Ascending Node, it fixes with practical certainty the evening before which the moon was *invisible*. By including the years 26 and 27 and calculating a second date for 26, 29 and 34, in which Nisan 14 would have fallen before Mar. 25, the equinox of the Julian calendar,¹⁵ two further sources of uncertainty are removed.

A.D.	ADAR		(VEADAR) NISAN			
	<i>Astr. New Moon</i>	<i>Phasis</i>	<i>Astr. New Moon</i>	<i>Phasis</i>	<i>Nisan 14</i>	
26	6 Feb., 8 A.M.	8 Feb.	{ 7 Mar., 7 P.M. 6 Apr., 5 A.M.	9 Mar. 7 Apr.	Sa.	23 Mar. 20 Apr.
27	25 Feb., 5 A.M.	27 Feb.	26 Mar., 6 P.M.	28 Mar.	Fr.	11 Apr.
28	14 Feb., 9 A.M.	16 Feb.	15 Mar., 2 A.M.	17 Mar.	We.	31 Mar.
29	2 Feb., 8 A.M.	4 Feb.	{ 4 Mar., 3 A.M. 2 Apr., 8 P.M.	6 Mar. 5 Apr.	Su.	20 Mar. 19 Apr.
30	21 Feb., 5 A.M.	23 Feb.	22 Mar., 8 P.M.	{ 24 Mar. 25 Mar.	Fr.	7 Apr. 8 Apr.
31	11 Feb., 0 A.M.	12 Feb.	12 Mar., 1 A.M.	14 Mar.	We.	28 Mar.
32	29 Feb., 1 P.M.	2 Mar.	29 Mar., 11 P.M.	31 Mar.	Mo.	14 Apr.
33	18 Feb., 5 A.M.	19 Feb.	19 Mar., 1 P.M.	{ 20 Mar. 21 Mar.	Fr.	3 Apr. 4 Apr.
34	7 Feb., 8 P.M.	9 Feb.	{ 9 Mar., 6 A.M. 7 Apr., 2 P.M.	10 Mar. 8 Apr.	We.	24 Mar. 22 Apr.
35	26 Feb., 8 P.M.	28 Feb.	28 Mar., 6 A.M.	29 Mar.	Tu.	12 Apr.

The only admissible years among the above, if synoptic tradition be right, are 34, in which, if the later lunation was proclaimed Nisan, the 15th fell normally on Friday; and 28 and 31, if bad weather delayed the phasis. But no amount of delay from this cause would produce any effect at the beginning of Nisan in 28 and 31, because Adar, the preceding month, had its full quota of 30 days. Only on the sup-

¹⁴ So Wurm, Anger, Wieseler, and Achelis.

¹⁵ Wurm's rule (*ap. Wieseler, tr. Venables, Syn. of Four Gospels*, p. 406), giving Mar. 23 for the equinox, is too exact. The Sanhedrin may have followed ordinary (Julian) usage.

position of delay *both* at the beginning of Adar and of Nisan do these years become admissible. They are not admissible at all unless synoptic tradition be right as against Johannine.

If Johannine tradition be right, 34 is again the most probable year; for while the conditions of visibility were such as to make Thursday, Apr. 22, A.D. 34, a possible 14 Nisan, thus confirming synoptic story, this is only just possible, and a single day's delay in observation from clouds or otherwise would make it Friday, Apr. 23, confirming the fourth gospel. Two days' delay (in this case quite supposable) would admit the date of the alternative Nisan. For in this year, A.D. 34, Friday, Mar. 26, would then have been Nisan 14, again confirming the fourth gospel.

But besides the year 34 (the most probable by either Johannine or synoptic tradition), the years 33 and 30 are both admissible, though by Johannine tradition only. Fotheringham adopts 33 as the true date, because "the date Saturday, Apr. 4, for Nisan 14 in this year is astronomically only slightly more probable" than Friday, Apr. 3. Of 30 he says: "In the case of 30 the conditions are so pronouncedly in favor of a late phasis that it would be difficult to adopt an earlier date" than Saturday, Apr. 8.¹⁶ This would of course exclude 30 A.D. from consideration. Nevertheless, Friday, Apr. 7, must be admitted to be possible, as cases are known of observation of the new moon under conditions more unfavorable. We therefore include this as a possible date, and 30 as an admissible year under Johannine tradition. Under synoptic it is entirely inadmissible.

As regards 29, the patristic "year of the two Gemini" corresponding to Lk. 31, Fotheringham's discussion is exhaustive and his conclusion decisive. "Whatever date therefore be astronomically possible, 29 appears to be impossible." Even Achelis, who reverts to the demonstrably false method of

¹⁶ In the table as given above, the columns giving Mean Anomaly and Longitude of the Ascending Node have been omitted. 200 marks the maximum of unfavorable conditions which become more favorable as the number advances toward 400 or recedes toward 0. At Nisan A.D. 30 they were 164 and 71 respectively.

dating by astronomic new and full moon,¹⁷ makes Nisan 14 in A.D. 29 fall on Sunday, Apr. 17, whether by this method or in calculating by phasis!¹⁸

2. **Source of the Lucan Date.** If then the patristic "year of the two Gemini" be really inadmissible, how account for the origin of the dating? In the view of Turner it does not rest upon Lk. 3 1, but antedates the third gospel itself. At all events, Luke has some source for it, because it cannot be connected with any other datum of his story. Whosoever the responsibility, the explanation of the adoption of this date is not far to seek. It is suggested by the course actually pursued by Hippolytus in dating the Crucifixion on Mar. 25, A.D. 29.

Epiphanius (*Hær.* I. 1, L. 1, 23) tells us of primitive Quartodeciman sects in Cappadocia who, in continuing their observance of Passover as the anniversary of the Crucifixion, had broken away from the Jewish lunar calendar and, instead of observing Nisan 14, observed the solar date, Mar. 25, just as we celebrate the Nativity at winter solstice, Dec. 25, observing the same day of the (solar) month each year. The certainty that the date, Mar. 25, was an arbitrary one is afforded by the practice of some of their number, who observed not Mar. 25, but Mar. 18; for *in both cases* we have simply spring equinox of the Julian Calendar, where Mar. 18 is the date for the entrance of the sun into Aries, Mar. 25 true equinox.¹⁹ Now in A.D. 29, Mar. 18 and Mar. 25 actually fell on Fridays. In all other conceivable years equinox fell on some other day of the week; so that it is quite supposable that A.D. 29 was made the basis of the synchronisms

¹⁷ Turner and Ramsay are certainly wrong in this assumption. Just because the Jews considered accuracy in the determination of their festal calendar vitally important, they clung with fanatical tenacity to their determinations by actual observation long after Gentile astronomy was competent to fix the dates by calculation. See the fragment of *Ker. Petri*, quoted above, note 12.

¹⁸ *Gött. gel. Nachr., phil. hist. Kl.*, 1902, pp. 707 ff. The obsolete method of allowing a uniform delay of 36 hours between astronomic new moon and phasis accounts for the discrepancy with Fotheringham's results.

¹⁹ See above on the fragment from Victorinus discussed by Dobschütz (*T. u. U.* xi. pp. 136 ff.), in which this dating for the Quartodeciman anniversary is attributed to Alexander, the *Cappadocian* bishop of Jerusalem, ca. 210 A.D.

of Lk. 3 1 for this reason, the dating of Jn. 2 21 and of the patristic chronographers simply resting upon the same. For Quartodecimans must very soon have discovered the remarkable coincidence that the Friday of Passover week in "the year of the two Gemini" coincided with the (Julian) vernal equinox, just as Jesus' birth was later understood to coincide with the (Julian) winter solstice. At all events, 29 A.D. as the year of the Crucifixion seems to be the one universal, unanimously attested date of all the earliest sources. Every dating takes its start from this—and yet it is astronomically impossible!

Per contra, since the year 30 is not altogether excluded under Johannine tradition, and second century interpretation of Lk. 3 1 may have been mistaken, the possibility must also be recognized that Lk. 3 1 may be based on independent historical tradition. Jn. 2 21 will then no doubt be adduced as supporting the same. In this case, however, the two passages must be understood as pointing to A.D. 30, and not 29. A decision as between the alternative possibilities must await further evidence.

C. PRE-LUCAN CHRONOLOGY

1. **Traces in Matthew and Luke.** On other points than the universally accepted starting point of 29 A.D. for the Crucifixion there is decided disagreement in the sources. They vary both as to the duration of the ministry and of Jesus' life. We have seen above (A, 2) that Luke's calculations of date do not always agree even with his own material. In particular the Nativity is placed "in the days of Herod the king," by Lk. 1 5, if indeed the original reference of Lk. 2 1 be not to some purely statistical census made under Saturninus in B.C. 9-7. The implications of Mt. 2 16 (note last clause) make 6 B.C. the *lowest* limit, but a date several years earlier may quite as well be implied.²⁰ Thus the 30 years of

²⁰ If the legend of the star Mt. 2 2 be really an outgrowth of the remarkable conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in Pisces in May, October, and December of B.C. 7 in accordance with the statement of R. Abarbanel that the conjunction of these two planets in Pisces is to be a sign of Messiah's coming, we may be still more specific. A date in the neighborhood of B.C. 7 will have been assumed by the tradition.

Lk. 3 23 give in any case a lower estimate of Jesus' age "when he began" than the older tradition implied. We have evidence which is far from deserving the neglect it has received that his age was in reality more nearly 40.

2. **The Elders' Tradition of Jesus' Age.** Irenæus, in his attempts to defend the fourth gospel against the charge of unauthenticity,²¹ refers to an author, now generally acknowledged to be Papias (*ca.* A.D. 145), as reporting from "the Elders who were disciples of the Apostles," that Jesus when he began to teach had reached the age of 40 years, the age which "befits the teacher." We may infer from this latter expression that in its original form the tradition was a vindication of Jesus' right to the title and function of Rabbi under the legal requirement of 40 as the teaching age.²² Irenæus twists this into a defense of his interpretation of Jn. 8 57, as implying that Jesus continued his teaching until nearly the age of 50! Regarding this latter conception (that Jesus attained the age of 50 years) we shall have more to say presently. That of Papias with which we are now dealing (40 years) is not only reasonable in itself, and quite in harmony with Mt. 2 16 Lk. 1 5, but has positive confirmation in Ac. 7 23, where the statement is made that Moses when he visited his brethren in the rôle of peace-maker, "supposing that they would understand how that God by his hand was giving them salvation," had "fully completed his fortieth year."²³ This trait in Stephen's portrait of Moses the great prototype of Christ is introduced *without more than inferential warrant in the Old Testament*, which would hardly be the case if it were not intended to mark a correspondence.

3. **Jewish Polemic.** Conversely, Herford adduces evidence from the Jewish side of this polemic between Church and Synagogue which indicates Jewish interest to prove that Jesus did *not* attain the age of 40. Jesus is referred to (as

²¹ *Her.* II. xxii. 4, 5.

²² *Aboda Zara*, b. Talm. Frankfort ed. f. 19 b. Ad quodnam vero ætatis momentum expectandum est antequam vir doctus alios docere possit? Resp. Ad exactos annos quadraginta.

²³ ἐπληροῦτο αὐτῷ τεσσαρεσκατονταετῆς χρόνος.

Herford shows) in Bab. Talm., *Sanh.* 106 b, under the mask of "Balaam" (slain for seducing Israel, according to Num. 31 8. 16). A Christian opponent of Rabbi Ḥanina answers the question "How old was Balaam when he died?" as "33 or 34 years." This is justified thereupon by combination of Ps. 55 23 and Ps. 90 10. Because Jesus was a "bloody and deceitful man" he must have perished before attaining half a man's allotted days (*i.e.* 70 years). The (Palestinian) elders on the one side, rabbis on the other, corroborate the existence of a tradition independent of the Lucan, fixing the age of Jesus not at thirty, but at *forty*.

D. JOHANNINE CHRONOLOGY

We are thus brought again to the question so drastically treated by Irenæus. What is the relation of the Johannine chronological system to the Lucan?

1. **The Johannine Synchronism.** Jn. 2 13-23 transfers the scene of the temple-cleansing from the end of the ministry (Mk. 11 15-18 and parallels), its only possible historical position, to the beginning, thus making it occupy a position corresponding to that of Lk. 4 16 ff.; where Luke depicts the beginning of the ministry by describing how Jesus proclaimed "the acceptable year of the Lord" in his *παρῶς*. This transfer with the connected indirect synchronism (vv. 20. 21) and the emphasizing in 6 4 of a point only indirectly recognizable in Mk. 6 39, suggests that the fourth evangelist, while accepting the Lucan fixed point of A.D. 29 for the Crucifixion, has a deliberate, if tacit, intention to readjust the prevailing chronology (*a*) in respect to the age of Jesus, (*b*) in respect to the duration of the ministry, (*c*) in respect to the day of the Crucifixion.

a. Early errorists in Rome referred to by Augustine,²⁴ perhaps Caius and the Alogi, insisted on interpreting not only Jn. 8 57, but also 2 20, as implying that Jesus attained an age of nearly 50 years. Irenæus, as we have seen, the most determined opponent of the Alogi, admitted this interpretation of Jn. 8 57, and other Church writers, not long after, admitted it

²⁴ *de Doctr. Chr.* ii. 28.

as regards 2 20.²⁵ We still have, in fact, many traces of harmonistic chronologies of this period which reckon the duration of Jesus' life at 49 years.²⁶ As these interpretations did not disappear until their real irreconcilability with Luke became apparent, so it is probable that but for prepossessions of a similar kind we ourselves would recognize that at least Jn. 8 57 is not written from the standpoint of Lk. 3 23, but more nearly from that of the pre-Lucan chronology of Mt. 2 16, Lk. 1 5 21 (?) Ac. 7 23 and "the Elders" of Papias, if, indeed, John does not go still further in the direction of Irenæus' extravagant claims.

b. We have already recognized the probability that Jn. 2 13-22 is intended to rectify the Lucan thirty-year duration of Jesus' life; we must now recognize the further fact that this writer certainly extends the duration of the ministry, and the probability that he intends it to cover a period of three years, perhaps taking the suggestion from Lk. 13 7.

We may be sure from Jn. 8 57 that he reckoned the duration of Jesus' life as at that time (Tabernacles) approximating 50 years. But did he think of it as attaining just 50 at the ensuing Passover? If he reckoned after the manner of the later Greek chronographers, his starting point for the period of the incarnation would be not the birth of Jesus, but his conception (*σύλληψις*) in the womb of Mary. "Forty-six years" of age, therefore, would mark more nearly 47

²⁵ So among moderns Loisy and Jülicher.

²⁶ A number of medieval chronographers who seem to rest upon the *Defense of the Fourth Gospel and Apocalypse*, by Hippolytus (ca. A.D. 205), calculate by jubilees of years, reckoning 120 jubilees (6000 years) as the duration of the world, after which the millennium completes the period of 140 (2 x 70). Thus a fragment of the *Apocalypse of Thomas* quoted by Frick (*Zts. f. ntl. Wiss.* 1908, 2, p. 172) forecasts "nine jubilees" (= 450 years) from the Ascension to the Second Coming. The Nativity is dated in chronologies of this class in A.M. 5500 (so, e.g., Annianus, ca. 412 A.D.), so that *Apoc. Thom.* probably reckoned one jubilee (50 years) as the period of the Incarnation. Chapman, however, has cogently argued (*Journ. of Theol. Studies*, viii. 1906) for the dependence of this reckoning on Hippolytus, who employed the blundering calculations of Tertullian from the consular lists. Thus the extraordinary dates of Epiphanius and the Alexander fragment giving 12 years as the duration of the ministry and 49 as the duration of Jesus' life would be purely fortuitous in origin!

of the incarnation period. We may also assume that he regarded the unnamed "feast of the Jews" of Jn. 5 1 as a Passover, because such is the general understanding of the fathers.²⁷ If, then, a correspondence is intended between Herod's building and "the temple of his (Jesus') body," the Passover of the utterance will approximate the close of the forty-seventh year of the incarnation, that of 5 1 the forty-eighth, that of 6 4 the forty-ninth, and that of the Passion and Resurrection the fiftieth year.

On the other hand, the internal structure of the fourth gospel convinces us that Turner is right in his declaration that it contemplates originally and fundamentally no other chronology of the ministry than is reasonably and most naturally to be derived from Mark, viz. a period of one year for the Galilean ministry, ending with the Passover of Ch. 6, and a second, also of one year, for the ministry in Peræa and Judæa, ending with the Passover of Ch. 11.²⁸ In this case Jn. 2 13 π . will represent an extension of the original Johannine duration of Jesus' ministry, as well as an attempt at more exact dating of his birth.

c. The placing of the Crucifixion on Nisan 14 (Jn. 13 1. 29 18 28), instead of 15 as the synoptists declare, is an extraordinary instance of the combined boldness in matter with reserve in manner of the corrections of our fourth evangelist. His undeniable disposition to find mystical coincidences (*e.g.* 9 7 11 50) has indeed been regarded as sufficient to account for even such a tour de force as this, inasmuch as Jesus' death, the author's parallel to that of the Passover lamb (1 29. 36), is thus made to fall coincidentally with this sacrifice. But it is to be observed that the real author of this comparison is Paul (1 Cor. 5 7), and that Paul adds to it a further com-

²⁷ In our own judgment a misunderstanding. The dialogue of Jn. 5 is concerned with the authority of Jesus *vs.* the Law of Moses. *Pentecost* was the feast of the giving of the Law. But this only shows that Jn. 2 13 π . is a late addition, which can be made probable independently.

²⁸ Turner, *s.v.* "Chronology of N. T." in Hastings' *BD*, i. p. 409 b). "St. Mark's Gospel was shown (p. 406), if its order of events can be taken as chronological [the fourth evangelist would so take them], to imply, exactly like St. John's, a two-year ministry."

parison of the Resurrection to the waving of the Firstfruits (1 Cor. 15 20), which took place on Nisan 16. This he would scarcely do if the days of Crucifixion and Resurrection had fallen respectively on Nisan 15 and 17. Moreover, there is strong internal evidence of self-contradiction in the story of Mk. 14 ff. and parallels, indicating that the temptation to regard the last supper as the actual Passover with which it so nearly coincided, has availed to alter the original representation. Even now the account is bare of all the distinctive features of the Passover meal. In all probability, then, we must invert the supposed relation. Symbolism is unquestionably an exaggerated factor in John; but it grows out of the historic tradition, and not conversely. And what we thus find to be true respecting the day of the Crucifixion is at least partially true of the duration of the ministry, which, if not exactly two years, was almost certainly more than one; also of Jesus' age, which if not exactly 49, was very probably in the region of 40.

E. HARMONISTIC CHRONOLOGIES

Current harmonistic chronologies based on a 3-4 year ministry date from the period of Eusebius, who adopted 29 (Lk. 3 1) as the date of the Baptist's mission, 30 as that of the Baptism, and 33 for the Crucifixion, finding *four* Passovers in John. The heathen chronographer Phlegon, A.D. 117-138, furnished him with records of an earthquake which had occurred in 32-33 in Bithynia, and an eclipse of the sun (certainly that of Nov. 24, A.D. 29) visible in the same region. Unfortunately there is no good reason to suppose that any but Christian borrowers from Phlegon identified these events with the "eclipse" of Lk. 23 44 and the earthquake of Mt. 27 51. Still it is of interest to note Phlegon's date for the earthquake, if not for both events, in view of the fact that other Christian chronologists before Eusebius may have brought it into relation with gospel story. Phlegon's date was Ol. 202. 4 = A.D. 32-33.

CONCLUSION

The date A.D. 29 for the Passion seems to be older than any of our gospels, and yet on the showing of astronomy both incorrect and factitious. Luke would seem to have employed it for his dating of the beginning of the ministry "in the fifteenth year of Tiberius." The writer of Jn. 2 13 ff. would seem also to have calculated from it; but whereas Luke — misled perhaps by the desire to connect the birth in Bethlehem with "the census" — placed the Nativity but 30 years before it, John, more loyal to the older tradition of Jesus' having "attained the age of the teacher," placed the Nativity more than 40, perhaps exactly 49 years before it. Astronomically the most probable dates for the Passion are A.D. 33 or 34. The most probable estimates of the duration of the ministry are those which come nearest the two-year period. The most probable estimates of the duration of Jesus' life are those which exceed rather than fall below the period of 40 years. The Nativity should be dated "in the days of Herod the king," most reasonably in about B.C. 8.

Note on the Hexameter in James 1 17

WILLIAM H. P. HATCH

GENERAL THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, NEW YORK

JAS. 1 17 contains, as every student of the Epistle knows, a defective hexameter verse. The defect consists in the fact that in the second foot instead of the regular dactyl or spondee we have a tribrach, and the manuscripts offer no variant readings to correct the irregularity. The hexameter is one form of dactylic rhythm, and hence the use of a tribrach anywhere in a hexameter verse is rhythmically illogical.

Sometimes in classical Greek poetry a short syllable having the ictus upon it occurs where a long syllable is expected, and it is commonly said that the short syllable is lengthened under the ictus. But in most cases of this sort some other cause can be discovered.¹ So in regard to Jas. 1 17 it is sometimes said that the short syllable *οις* in *δόσις* is lengthened under the ictus, so that the second foot is practically equivalent to a dactyl.² But, apart from the question as to the possibility of such lengthening under the ictus,³ it is difficult to believe that any poet, except some popular or non-literary maker of verses, would have allowed himself such metrical license when the difficulty could be avoided as easily as it can in the present case. Hence Blass, having this passage in mind, says that "the specimens of verse which have been found [in the New Testament] are for the most part of such a quality that they are better left unmentioned."⁴

¹ Seymour, *Introduction to the Language and Verse of Homer*, p. 87; Jebb, *Homer*, pp. 193 f.

² Mayor, *The Epistle of St. James*,² p. 54.

³ Seymour, *op. cit.*, p. 87, who characterizes the doctrine as "obsolete."

⁴ Blass, *Grammatik des Neutestamentlichen Griechisch*,² p. 304 (Eng. tr., p. 297).

From the point of view of classical and literary verse this judgment is certainly sound. But just as we are all familiar with modern specimens of verse-writing which could in no wise be called classical or literary in either form or sentiment, so also in antiquity there were composed many verses of a character no more meritorious. Many examples of such are preserved in inscriptions, and they are not infrequently as faulty in metre as they are barren in sentiment.⁵ But they are nevertheless interesting and instructive as representing the attempts of ordinary people to write verses. If an epitaph was needed, some friend or relative, or perhaps a local maker of grave-stones, would supply what was deemed an appropriate verse. Such productions may therefore be called the non-literary verses of plain people. Now with a few well-known exceptions the writers of the New Testament belonged to this class, and their language is akin to the speech of plain people engaged in the ordinary affairs of life. This has been amply demonstrated in our own day by the study of inscriptions, papyri, and inscribed potsherds. Allen has found in inscriptions several hexameter verses which show the same defect as that noted in the hexameter contained in Jas. 1 17.⁶ A short final syllable in the second foot having the ictus upon it occurs where a long syllable is expected. In three of these cases the second foot of the hexameter consists of a tribrach, as in Jas. 1 17.⁷ Hence it may be that the hexameter in James is another example of popular or non-literary verse-making.

It was said above that the difficulty in our verse could have been easily avoided, and we must believe that a skilful poet would have availed himself of the opportunity to do so. By inserting τ , which might easily have fallen out of the text, after $\delta\acute{o}\sigma\iota\varsigma$ the sense is not materially altered and the

⁵ For a careful and thorough study of the metrical structure of verses found in Greek inscriptions, see Allen in *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, iv. pp. 35 ff.

⁶ Allen, *op. cit.*, iv. p. 74.

⁷ There may be also a fourth instance, but Allen is uncertain as to the text.

metrical defect is removed.⁸ We then have a perfect hexameter verse: *πᾶσα δόσις τ' ἀγαθὴ καὶ πᾶν δώρημα τέλειον*.

If with several modern interpreters we regard the verse as a quotation from some Greek poem of the classical or Hellenistic period,⁹ this slight correction of the text seems to be necessary. But on the other hand we may believe the verse to be a specimen of such non-literary versification as is sometimes found in inscriptions, or we may agree with other scholars that the occurrence of the hexameter in James is purely accidental.¹⁰ If we adopt either of the last-mentioned views, the text may stand unchanged.

⁸ For the position of *τε* cf., e.g., Thuc. 4. 26, 4: *οὗς φοντο ἡμερῶν ὀλίγων ἐκπολιορκήσειν ἐν νήσῳ τε ἐρήμῃ καὶ ὕδατι ἀλμυρῷ χρωμένους*.

⁹ Ewald, *Das Sendschreiben an die Hebräer und Jakobus Rundschreiben*, p. 190; Mayor, *The Epistle of St. James*,² p. 54; Spitta, *Zur Geschichte und Litteratur des Urchristentums*, ii. p. 40, n. 2; von Soden,³ in *Handcommentar zum N. T.*, p. 181.

¹⁰ Huther,⁵ in Meyer's *Kommentar*, p. 72, n. 1 (Eng. tr., p. 71, n. 1); Beyschlag,⁶ in Meyer's *Kommentar*, p. 71, n. 1.

Abraham and Archæology*

GEORGE A. BARTON

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE

THOSE scholars who have been seeking for years to condemn the higher criticism by the verdict of archæology have had much to say of Abraham and his age and of the confirmations which archæology has afforded to the fourteenth chapter of Genesis. For a long time they have been looking for a mention of Abraham on the monuments. Since an Egyptian occurrence of his name has been found, they have been strangely silent about it.

In 1905 Professor Breasted published in his *History of Egypt* a picture of a bit of the inscription on the walls of the temple of Karnak in which Shoshenq (the Biblical Shishak) recorded the names of the places which he had conquered in Palestine. This picture (fig. 180, opposite p. 536, cf. also p. 530) gives the name of a place as *The Field of Abram*, thus giving us what we have long been seeking, one of the names of Abram in an extra-Biblical source. True, it appears as a part of the name of a place (see also Breasted, *Ancient Records*, iv. pp. 352, 353), but it appears in such a way that it implies that the name was borne by a person, or god or eponymous hero.

Possibly there are two reasons why so little has been made of this long-desired discovery of the name of Abram. One

* The following abbreviations are used:

BE = *Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, edited by H. V. Hilprecht.

JAOS = *Journal of the American Oriental Society*.

CT = *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*.

KAT^s = Schrader's *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 3d ed.

IV R = Rawlinson's *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, vol. iv.

may be, that it is found in so late a document (Shoshenq ruled 945-924 B.C.), and so far removed from the Abrahamic age, that it affords no proof of the historicity of Abraham. So far as this inscription is concerned, any of the critical theories of Abraham might be true. A second reason may be that in reality this discovery seems to confirm the critical conclusions. Brugsch and Steindorf had pointed out years ago that the Egyptian names which occur in Genesis, such as Potiphar and Zaphenathpaneah, are not found in Egyptian earlier than XXII dynasty, or the tenth century B.C. (cf. *Old Testament Student*, xi. pp. 180, 181, and Steindorf in *Zeitschr. f. ägyptische Sprache*, 1889, pp. 41 ff., 1892, p. 50 ff.). Professor W. Max Müller informs me that Egyptological research during the last twenty years confirms this statement. So far as this discovery of the name Abram goes, it falls in with other facts, which tend to show that the oldest Penta-teuchal documents reflect the vocabulary of the tenth to the eighth centuries.

Meantime a discovery of the name Abraham, of which probably much more notice will be taken, has been made in some Babylonian letters from Dilbad or Dilmu, the modern Dêlâm, a few miles southeast of Borsippa. These letters were written in the reign of Ammizaduga, one of the last kings of the dynasty to which Hammurabi belonged.¹ In five of these letters an Abraham is mentioned, who appears to have been a small farmer, and who rented a small tract of land from a certain well-to-do landowner named Sin-iddin. The Babylonian spelling of the name is not uniform; *A-ba-am-ra-am*, *A-ba-ra-ma*, and *A-ba-am-ra-ma* are the forms in which it appears.

The name is certainly the long-looked-for Abraham, but it is equally clear that its bearer does not correspond to the Biblical description of the Patriarch. The Abraham of these letters was the son of Amil-Ishtar (or Awil-Ishtar), and apparently had a brother Iddatum, while the Abraham of

¹ They are published by Ungnad in *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler*, Heft vii, and are discussed by him in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vol. vi. Heft 5. He discusses the name Abraham on pp. 60 ff.

the Bible was the son of Terah, and his brother's name was Nahor. The rôle, too, attributed to the Patriarch was impossible apparently for this small farmer, and the date of the farmer does not correspond to either of the Biblical dates for the Patriarch. The value of the discovery of this name consists of the fact that it shows that Abraham was a personal name in Babylonia at the time of the Hammurabi dynasty.

The evidence that Babylonia long dominated Palestine, and that there were close relations between the two, increases. Lugalzaggisi, about 3200 B.C., claims to have subdued the countries as far west as the Mediterranean Sea (*OBI*, No. 87, col. ii). A Babylonian Chronicle now adds details to the testimony of the business documents that Sargon² (cir. 3000 B.C.) subdued the Mediterranean coast, by stating that he overran the country and set up his images (King, *Chronicles concerning Early Babylonian Kings*, vol. ii. p. 4). Gudea brought cedar-wood from Mount Lebanon (see Statue *B*); Hammurabi and Ammizadugga, one of his successors, both claim to be kings of MARTU — the Babylonian name for Syria and Palestine (King, *Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi*, Nos. 66 and 69). In the reign of Shamsuiluna, Hammurabi's successor, a man in Sippar leased a wagon or a cart for a year, and stipulated in the contract that it should not be driven to *Kittim*.³ *Kittim* is one of the Biblical names for the Mediterranean coastlands, and travel between this part of the world and Babylonia must have been abundant, when a man could not lease a cart for a year without taking into account the possibility that it might make this journey.

During the latter part of this period there was a considerable movement eastward from the Syrian coast into Babylonia (see Ranke in the Introduction to *BE*, vol. vi., and

² Meyer in the second edition of his *Geschichte des Altertums*, 1909, pp. 345 ff., has, I believe, placed these kings too late. He has apparently overlooked some important archaeological data, to which the present writer called attention in the *Churchman*, vol. xcvii. pp. 53, 54.

³ The contract was published by Friedrich, in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vol. v. pp. 429 ff.

Clay, *JAOS*, xxviii. pp. 135 ff.). The migrations were accordingly reciprocal. They were not all in one direction.

Certain statements of the fourteenth chapter of Genesis are, it may be justly said, rendered more probable by some of these facts. Hammurabi, who is plausibly identified with Amraphel,⁴ claims to be king of the western countries. This does not prove that he invaded the Jordan valley and came into conflict with Abraham, but it makes it possible that he may have done so. Other statements of the same chapter are thought by many to receive confirmation from cuneiform sources also. A certain Kudurmabug, who was "Ad-da," or governor of Emutbal, a district of Elam, also calls himself in several inscriptions "Ad-da," or governor of MARTU (see, e.g., *CT*, xxi. 33). It has been sometimes inferred that Kudurmabug here asserted lordship over Palestine, but as Price points out (*Decennial Publications of the University of Chicago*, Series i, vol. v. pp. 167 ff.), the term probably designates the western part of Elam, or the westland of Elam. In that case Kudurmabug had no connection with Palestine. Kudurmabug did, however, place a son (and probably two sons in succession) on the throne of Larsa. It has been assumed that there was but one son, and that his name was written indifferently Arad-Sin and Rim-Sin, and that the former of these names was sometimes pronounced Eri-Agu, or Eri-Aku. An extensive literature has grown up since the days of George Smith upon this identification.⁵

Tiele (*Geschichte*, i. p. 124), while admitting that the identification was possible, regarded it as uncertain. Schrader (*Sitzungsberichte*, 1887, p. 602 note) held that the identification was made certain by a text published by Lenormant (*Choix*

⁴ See the discussion of Dhorme in the *Revue Biblique*, 1908, pp. 205-226, and of Ungnad in the *Zeitsch. f. Assyriologie*, xxii. pp. 7-13.

⁵ Cf., e.g., George Smith, *Early History of Babylonia; Records of the Past*, v. pp. 64 ff.; Delitzsch, *Sprache der Kossäer*, p. 69, note 1; Sayce, *Verdict of the Monuments*, pp. 102, 165, 533, 552; *Patriarchal Palestine*, pp. 63, 168; *Early History of the Hebrews*, pp. 11, 24, 26, 58, and 128; Schrader, *Sitzungsberichte* of the Berlin Academy, 1887, p. 600 ff.; 1895, pp. 961 ff.; Rogers, *History of Babylonia and Assyria*, i. pp. 391; Clay, *Light on the O. T. from Babel*, pp. 131 ff.; Hommel, *Ancient Hebrew Tradition*, pp. 40 ff., 70, 148, 161, 168 ff., 185 ff., 190, 206.

de textes, pp. 164 ff.) in col. i. 1. 11 of which Rim-Sin's name occurs. An examination of the passage shows, however, that it proves only that Kudurmabug had a son Rim-Sin, who was king of Larsa—a fact which no one doubts. No evidence is found there to show that that son was called Eri-Aku. Winckler (*KAT*,³ p. 367) pronounced the identification of Eri-Aku and Rim-Sin to be extremely uncertain.

The facts, I believe, can be shown to be these: (1) Kudurmabug had two sons who were kings of Larsa, Arad-Sin and Rim-Sin. (2) It is possible, though by no means certain, that Arad-Sin may have been called in Sumerian Iri-Agu. (3) It was Rim-Sin only who, so far as our evidence reveals, came into contact with Hammurabi, and the recorded relations between them were hostile and afford no basis for supposing that the two monarchs made an expedition together into the Westland.

Each of these points should be considered separately.

1. The suggestion that Arad-Sin and Rim-Sin were different sons of Kudurmabug is not new. I do not know who first made it, but it was considered by Hommel and rejected, in his *Ancient Hebrew Tradition*, p. 169. His reason for rejecting it is that *rim* (*iri*, *ri*, *irim*) is a Sumerian translation of the Semitic word *ardu*, servant, while *agu* (*aku*) is a frequent epithet of the moon-god, Sin. All this, however, only shows that the two names *might* refer to the same person. Even if these arguments were all probable, absolute identity is not established. The arguments are, however, not convincing. That *iri* is a dialectical variation of the Sumerian URU, "servant," is attested by Rawlinson's *Cun. Ins.* ii. p. 39, l. 70 a, but that the name of an Elamite should pass among Semitic peoples in its Sumerian form, while possible, strikes one as needing proof.

This supposition that Arad-Sin and Rim-Sin were two sons of Kudurmabug was revived by Thureau-Dangin in 1905 (*Les inscriptions de Sumer et Akkad*, p. 300, note 3), and has since been reasserted by him (*Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königinschriften*, Leipzig, 1907, p. 210, note k). Mr. L. W. King (*Chronicles concerning Early Babylonian Kings*,

vol. i. p. 68) gives this view his unqualified approval, holding that Arad-Sin preceded Rim-Sin on the throne of Larsa. Dhorme, *Rev. Biblique*, 1908, p. 209, heartily concurs in both these points. Meyer also, in the second edition of his *Geschichte des Altertums*, 1909, pp. 550 ff., holds that the two kings were distinct from one another. There are several considerations which convince one of the correctness of this view. (1) In all the inscriptions of Rim-Sin except two, which were written before his father's death and in which he is associated with his father, his name is preceded by the determinative for deity, as though like Naram-Sin and Dungi he claimed to be a god. This determinative is never found before the name of Arad-Sin. (2) In the Chronicle published by King, Rim-Sin's name is spelled with two ideograms, that for "wild ox" (Sumerian AMA, Semitic *rimu*) and that for the moon-god. (See King, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. pp. 17, 18.) This shows that at least in the opinion of later Babylonian scribes the name was not regarded as equivalent to Arad-Sin, "servant of Sin," but to Rim-Sin, "the wild ox of Sin." It is possible, of course, that these scribes were mistaken, but in this matter they were quite as likely to be right as the modern scholar. (3) The titles of the two kings are not quite identical. Arad-Sin is called at the first "king of Larsa," then "king of Larsa, king of Sumir and Akkad," then "king of Larsa, king of Sumir and Akkad and *Ad-da* of Emutbal." Rim-Sin is called first "king of Larsa," then "king of Sumir and Akkad," but not "*Ad-da* of Emutbal." These facts seem to me to establish Thureau-Dangin's claim that Arad-Sin and Rim-Sin were distinct persons, though both sons of Kudurmabug.

Inscriptions of Kudurmabug are extant in which at different times he associates now one of these sons, now the other with him, in each case designating the son mentioned as "king of Larsa." (See Thureau-Dangin, *opera citata.*) These facts when put together lead to the following reconstruction of the history. Kudurmabug was *Ad-da* or governor of Emutbal, a district of western Elam. He aided his son Arad-Sin to capture the throne of Larsa. Arad-Sin after-

ward made other conquests in Babylonia, so that he could assume the ancient title, "king of Sumir and Akkad." He then turned on his father and attempted to add Emutbal to his dominions, meeting at first with such success that he was enabled to add his father's title to his own. Kudurmabug succeeded finally in overthrowing him, and then aided a second son, Rim-Sin, to obtain the throne of Larsa. Rim-Sin, after his father's death, obtained control over most of Babylonia. Some such view of the history is necessary to account for all these facts, and agrees with the views of the scholars referred to above.

2. It is only possible that Arad-Sin may have been called Iri-Agu. The reasons why it is possible have been stated above. In IV R 35, No. 8, l. 1, Ri-im-ilu-A-gam-um occurs as a king's name. This has often been cited as proof that Eri-Aku was a real Babylonian king. It is not quite certain that it is proof of that, but even if it is, it does not prove that he was identical with Arad-Sin. Pinches, Schrader, and Hommel (cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 179 ff.), all find Eri-Aku mentioned in the fragment of an epic dating from the Persian period, but there is nothing in the fragment to connect the name convincingly with Arad-Sin.

Another argument might be advanced. Among proper names from the period of the dynasty of Ur, which preceded a little that of Larsa, some Sumerian names apparently have a divine element written with the Semitic sign *Arad*, perhaps pronounced in Sumerian *Ura* or *Ira* or *Ara*. In these names, however, the sign *Arad* is not preceded by the determinative for deity; we only infer that it stood for a deity by the analogy of other names. For example, we have *Uru-ra-kal*,⁶ in which if the *ra* is a phonetic complement, the meaning might be "Ura is a guardian spirit" (*šedu*). Then there is *Uru-ra-ba-til*,⁷ "Ura gives life," "*Uru-ra-ga-se-ir*,"⁷ "Ura is strong," *Ura-ra-ba-ni-ru-ba-tum*,⁷ "Ura creates the great," *Uru-ra-ba-ni*,⁸ "Ura creates," *Uru-ra-kuš*,⁹ "Ura is protec-

⁶ Reisner, *Tempel Urkunden aus Telloh*, No. 200, l. 9.

⁷ *Zeitschr. f. Assyriologie*, vol. xii. p. 343, ll. 11-13.

⁸ Thureau-Dangin, *Recueil de tablettes chaldéennes*, No. 389, 5, No. 392, rev. 2.

⁹ *Zeitschr. f. Assyriologie*, xviii. p. 252, l. 5.

tor," and two or three others in which the meaning is not so clear. It may now be argued that the *Arad* in the name Arad-Sin was to be read Ura and that it stood for a deity, Ura-Sin or Ura-Aga meaning "Ura is Sin." This is certainly possible. The existence of these names shows that it is; but after all, it is only *possible*. It is not proven, and, if it were proven, it does not associate this king with Hammurabi, or bring him into Palestine. Then, too, it must be borne in mind that even if the sign *Arad* stood for a deity, we do not know how it was vocalized. He may quite as likely have been called Girra or Mirra as Ura.¹⁰

3. All the references in our sources to relations between Hammurabi and a king of Larsa mention Rim-Sin as the king concerned, and picture the relations as hostile. (See, e.g., *KB*, III, p. 127, and King, *op. cit.*, ii. p. 17.) We have as yet no evidence from the inscriptions that Arad-Sin, even if he were called Iri-Agu, ever had anything to do with Hammurabi, either as a friend or an enemy. Of course it is possible that he may have had, as their reigns must have overlapped, but that remains to be proved. Rim-Sin, on the other hand, was not entirely subdued by Hammurabi, but lived to make war on Samsu-iluna, Hammurabi's successor (King, *op. cit.*, i. p. 69 and ii. p. 18).

No reference has yet been found in the monuments to Chedorlaomar, king of Elam, nor to Tidal, king of Goiim, unless Tidal be the Tudhal of the late fragment of an epic already referred to (cf. Hommel, *op. cit.*, p. 184), an identification which Dhorme, *Rev. Biblique*, 1908, p. 211, declares to be pure hypothesis.

Archæology, so far from having as yet established the early composition and historical character of Gen. 14, seems, so far as I can see, to furnish a series of facts which are best explained by supposing that that chapter was composed by a late midrashic writer who had, it is true, access to some Babylonian data, partly late and partly early, but did not know how to use them. He lived so far from the times that he had lost in part the correct historical perspective. Archæ-

¹⁰ Cf. Huber, *Personennamen*, p. 58, note 2.

ology thus confirms the critical results reached by Kuenen, Wellhausen, Cornill, Budde, Bacon, Briggs, Wildeboer, Ball, Carpenter, and Harford-Battersby.

In a discussion as to whether archæology has helped to establish the historical character of Abraham, a word ought to be devoted to the Hittites. The twenty-third chapter of Genesis, commonly ascribed by critics to P (cir. 450 B.C.), represents Abraham as buying the cave of Machpelah from Ephron, the Hittite. The chapter says that Ephron "dwelt in the midst of the children of Heth" (v. 10), implying that there was a Hittite colony of some size in Hebron, if the whole city was not in their possession.¹¹ Does archæological discovery confirm this impression?

For an answer we must pass in review the following facts. The discovery of cuneiform tablets at Boghaz-koi in Asia Minor has revealed that that was the center of Hittite power—the home-land of the Hittites.¹² The earliest mention of them which we have in history shows that their activity extended toward the Mesopotamian valley, for they helped to overthrow the first dynasty of Babylon¹³ some eighteen centuries or more before our era. They had apparently not yet gained possession of northern Syria, for when Thothmes III extended his campaigns through that country to the Euphrates, beginning about 1478 B.C., they did not impede his progress. After the triumphant progress of Thothmes to the Euphrates, in the year 1470 B.C., the great Hittite chief sent him presents, apparently from his native seat in Asia Minor.¹⁴ In the years that followed they took possession of a part of northern Syria, for in the El-Amarna letters, written during the reign of Amenophis IV (1375-1358), they are frequently mentioned in letters from Phœnicia and the Amorite country between the Lebanon

¹¹ The latter is the natural inference; see Sulzberger, *Am Ha-Aretz*, pp. 20 ff.

¹² See *Mitteilungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, No. 35.

¹³ Cf. King, *Chronicles concerning Early Babylonian Kings*, vol. i. pp. 72 ff. and 148 ff., vol. ii. p. 22.

¹⁴ Cf. Breasted, *History of Egypt*, 2d ed., p. 304, and *Ancient Records*, vol. ii. § 485.

and anti-Lebanon ranges.¹⁵ No mention of them occurs to show that they had pushed to the southern part of Palestine or were in the neighborhood of Hebron.¹⁶ In the time of the nineteenth dynasty Seti I (1313-1292) found his way into the valley between the Lebanon ranges blocked by them;¹⁷ and the great battle of Rameses II (1292-1225) with them at Kadesh, in which the Egyptian king narrowly escaped,¹⁷ is evidence of their presence in the north. Rameses afterward made a treaty with them in which each agreed to respect the territory of the other;¹⁸ and as Egyptian territory extended then to the Lebanon mountains, it is clear that the Hittites were not in southern Palestine. With the reign of Rameses III (1198-1167) the Philistines and other sea-peoples began to attack the coasts of Asia Minor, Palestine, and Egypt,¹⁹ so that by the time of Rameses XII (1118-1090), when Wenamon went to Phœnicia for cedar, on an expedition, the entertaining report of which survives,²⁰ Dor was in the possession of a tribe kindred to the Philistines, and it is probable that the same was true of the whole coast of Palestine.

In the mêlée which brought this about the Hittites did apparently push into Galilee as far as the plain of Esdraelon, where their king, Sisera, was overcome by Deborah and Barak (Ju. 5). Professor George F. Moore pointed this out some years ago,²¹ and although the discovery of cuneiform Hittite documents shows that his analogies of Hittite names on Egyptian monuments ending in *sira* were fallacious, the Egyptian *r* representing an original *l*, enough of his evidence is valid to prove the point. The coming of the

¹⁵ The reader can easily verify this statement by looking up the references to the Hittites in the geographical index to vol. v. of Schrader's *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, and noting the localities from which the letters come.

¹⁶ Breasted, *History*, p. 412.

¹⁷ See Breasted's discussion of the battle in the *Decennial Publications of the University of Chicago*, vol. v., also his *Ancient Records*, vol. iii. pp. 125-156, and *History*, pp. 427-439.

¹⁸ Breasted, *Records*, iii. pp. 163-174, and *History*, pp. 437-439.

¹⁹ Breasted, *Records*, iv. pp. 33-49, and *History*, pp. 480, 481.

²⁰ Breasted, *Records*, iv. pp. 274-287.

²¹ *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. xix. p. 160.

Hebrews and the sea-peoples apparently crippled the power of the Hittites, and although at places like Hamath and Carchemish their power lingered on, it is improbable that after this they ever conquered Hebron. While, therefore, archæology has much to tell us of the Hittites, it has nothing to tell which brings them into connection with Hebron.

There remains, however, one possibility: the Hyksos kings who invaded Egypt about 1700 B.C. and held that country for a hundred years *may* have been Hittites. The Hyksos formed an extensive empire which covered Palestine, reached, possibly, to Mesopotamia, and may have included Crete.²² They almost certainly ruled Hebron. Their invasion of Egypt occurred but a century or two later than the Hittite invasion of Babylonia, and contemporaneously with the settling of the Mittani, who are thought to be kindred to the Hittites, on the Euphrates. Possibly the Hyksos were Hittites also. Meyer²³ recognizes this possibility, though he declares it cannot be stated as a historical fact. There are, however, serious objections to an identification of the Hyksos with Hittites. The Egyptian traditions as preserved by Manetho and Josephus refer to the Hyksos as Arabians and Phœnicians.²⁴ A Semitic invasion of Egypt seems much more probable than an invasion by Hittites. The Egyptians under the empire became well acquainted with the Hittites and, as we have seen, mention them frequently. Had they been conscious that the Hyksos belonged to that race, it seems probable that they would have indicated it. The possibility that the Hyksos were Hittite impresses one therefore as improbable.

It must, however, be remembered that Manetho, although he had access to ancient records, lived at a later date than the author of the P document did, and some day, when the Hittite inscriptions are deciphered, archæology *may* prove that Gen. 23 has preserved a correct historical tradition,

²² See Breasted, *History of Egypt*, pp. 217 ff., and Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, 2d ed., pp. 295 ff.

²³ *Geschichte*, 2d ed., p. 578.

²⁴ See Breasted, *History*, p. 219.

which the Egyptians themselves had lost. It has not done this yet, but we should, in the present state of our knowledge, be prepared for this possibility.

In one respect the recent progress of archæology affords some consolation to the Biblical apologist. If we are right in identifying the Amraphel of Gen. 14 with Hammurabi, the author of that chapter made Abram a contemporary of this Babylonian king. On the basis of the Babylonian dynastic tablets scholars had confidently dated Hammurabi in the twenty-third century B.C. It seemed, therefore, that the author of Gen. 14 placed Abram there. In Gen. 15 is the E document (cf. Carpenter and Harford-Battersby's *Hexateuch*, ad loc.) said that Abraham's descendants should be afflicted four hundred years. Whether the four hundred years was to be counted from the time of Abraham or from the beginning of the period of affliction was, however, left in doubt. In Ex. 12 40 P* took it in the latter sense, making the Egyptian sojourn just four hundred and thirty years to a day. St. Paul (Gal. 3 17) took it in the former sense, making the time between the giving of the promise to Abraham and the giving of the law four hundred and thirty years. Most modern chronologists, from Archbishop Ussher to Professor Beecher (*Dated Events of the Old Testament*), have followed St. Paul. On the old view, that the Exodus occurred in 1491, this carried us back only to the twentieth century for Abraham, and when the Exodus was brought down to 1320, Abraham was brought down to the eighteenth century; when the Exodus was put a century later, still Abraham followed. Archæology thus seemed to divide the Bible against itself. Hommel felt this, and in his *Ancient Hebrew Tradition*, ch. iv., he ceased to follow the Pauline interpretation. He thus was able to gain a hundred and thirty years for Abraham. As this did not carry him back to the time of Hammurabi by about three centuries, Hommel proposed to regard the second dynasty of Babylon, which at that time was known to us only through a chronological tablet, as apocryphal. The progress of science has relieved the situation in a less violent way. King and Poebel simultaneously discov-

ered that the first and second dynasties of Babylon overlapped by one hundred and twenty-five years or more (see King, *op. cit.*, i. pp. 70 ff. and ii. pp. 19-21; Poebel in *Zeitsch. f. Assyriologie*, xx. pp. 229 ff.). This fact reveals the possibility that other dynasties which we have been adding end to end may have overlapped; and it is possible, therefore, so far as archæology is concerned, that the author of the fourteenth chapter of Genesis may have had a chronology in mind not so far removed from that of E and P as we had supposed.

This chronology, if we date the Exodus about 1220, in accordance with present-day opinions, would not place Abraham earlier than the seventeenth or eighteenth century B.C. The traditions of E and P would therefore make the Abrahamic migration accord with that great movement of peoples which began when the Kassites pushed into southern Babylonia, the Mittanni into the upper Euphrates valley, and pushed westward a wave of people across Syria, driving the Hyksos into Egypt. It was probably this migration which brought the Canaanites into Palestine; for while we know from many cuneiform sources that the Amorites were in this region several centuries earlier, we have no mention of the Canaanites before this time. By the El-Amarna period, however, they had given their name to a section of the country (see *KB*, v. Nos. 11, 14, 50, 101, 151, 154, and 294). We may from the Biblical point of view, therefore, call this migration Canaanite (see Paton, *Early History of Palestine and Syria*, ch. v.).

The portion of this migration which entered Egypt established a reigning house there which probably covers dynasties XV and XVI of Manetho's chronological scheme. These rulers were powerful, though barbarous, and, as already noted, there is reason to believe that their empire extended far into Asia. This is the age to which all the Biblical references except Gen. 14 point as the age of Abraham. Gen. 14, we must still believe, placed Abram earlier, for the age of Hammurabi must have considerably preceded the Kassite migration. Archæology still is positively a stumbling block to the harmonizing of these chronological data.

If we follow the documents which point to the Hyksos period as the age of Abraham, interesting information as to the type of civilization of this time has recently been found in the great tunnel discovered by Mr. Macalister at Gezer (see *Quarterly Statement*, January, April, and July, 1908). This tunnel was 219 feet long, 12 feet 10 inches wide, and 23 feet high at the entrance, growing gradually smaller further on. It was entered by a staircase, which, like the tunnel itself, was cut out of the solid rock. It led to a spring of water, and was undoubtedly designed to enable the city to withstand a siege. From the nature of the débris with which its mouth was filled, it appears to have fallen into disuse about 1200 B.C. Judging from the wear of feet on the rock-cut stairs, it must have been constructed about 500 years before that. This brings us back to this Hyksos period—a time at which no known occupants of Palestine existed, unless the monarchs who ruled Egypt, who were powerful enough to accomplish such a work. It is true that in the nineteenth century B.C. Sesostris (Usertsen) III, of the XIIth Egyptian dynasty, had invaded Palestine (see Breasted, *Ancient Records*, i. § 680). Had this monarch accomplished such a work, however, he would certainly have celebrated it in an inscription, as he did the cutting of the canal at the first cataract and the conquest of Nubia. Probably, then, the tunnel is Hyksos work. While this tunnel affords us a new basis for an estimate of the civilization of the Abrahamic age, it affords us no evidence for the historical character of the patriarch.

On the other hand, any fair estimate of the bearing of archæology upon the Abrahamic problem must take into account the facts brought to light by archæology which favor the theories of those who believe that Abraham was a moon-god. The name Abram, of which Abraham is but a variant form,²⁵ means, if it is of West-Semitic origin, "Exalted father."²⁵ Biblical traditions connect Abraham with

²⁵ See Briggs, Brown, and Driver's *Lexicon*, p. 4. If the name was imported into Palestine from Babylonia, this explanation will not hold. In the Babylonian form of the name "Father" is an accusative and the name seems to mean "He (*i.e.* some god) loves the father."

Harran and Ur, seats of the worship of the moon-god, Sin. In Babylonian mythology Sin was the father of Shamash, the sun-god, and of Ishtar. In Babylonian hymns one of the most frequent epithets of Sin is "Father,"²⁶ which in Semitic is "Ab." "The exalted Father," if Abraham's name, fits, it must be confessed, the moon-god theory. Sarah, or Sarai, the name of Abraham's wife, is the Hebrew equivalent of *šarratu*, "Queen," an epithet of the consort of the moon-god at Harran, and Milcah, Abraham's sister-in-law (Gen. 11²⁹), is the Hebrew equivalent of *Malkatu*, the name of the consort of the sun-god, and perhaps of the moon-god also.²⁷ These facts do not prove Abraham a moon-god; absolute proof that a character is mythical is even more difficult than to prove it historical. We cannot, however, wonder that, in the absence of proof from contemporary sources that Abraham was a person, such facts had great weight. The discovery from an extra-Biblical source that Abraham was in Babylonia the name of a person, even though that person cannot be identified with the Patriarch, breaks in a slight degree, though it by no means nullifies, the weight of these considerations.

The intense interest in the narratives of Abraham, which has led some earnest souls to inaugurate the so-called warfare between archæology and criticism,²⁸ springs, of course, from the part that the conception of Abraham has played in the development of the Jewish and Christian faiths. Abraham as an ideal is, however, a solid part of the history of the world's best religion, and the permanent value of the ideal is inde-

²⁶ See E. G. Perry's *Hymnen und Gebete an Sin in Leipziger semitische Studien*, ii. 4 (1907), pp. 17, 20, 34, 35; Langdon, *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms*, 1909, p. 297, and Vanderburgh, *Sumerian Hymns*, 1908, pp. 11, 42, 43.

²⁷ See *KAT*², pp. 364 ff., and *Zeitschr. f. Assyriologie*, xi. pp. 296-299.

²⁸ One of the curious psychological phases of this artificial warfare is manifested in an article by Wiener on "Pentateuchal Criticism" in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for January, 1909. This writer argues in substance that the critical analysis rests on an insecure basis, because our sources of knowledge for the text are so late and imperfect that no certain inferences can be drawn from its statements. This argument is apparently published as a defense of faith!

pendent of the results of criticism of the patriarchal narratives or the investigations of archæologists. The ideal was real, whether woven about a mythical, a half legendary, or an historical character. It represented for centuries Israel's conception of her own call and mission. It was not, however, a constant quantity, and the fact that it varied is true, whether Abraham were real or not. To J¹ Abraham was the ideal devout nomad, who was obedient to Yahweh's call (Gen. 12 1 ff.), who believed in Yahweh and it was accounted to him righteousness (Gen. 15 6); the type of a hospitable host, whom Yahweh deigns to visit (Gen. 18 1 ff.). To J² Abraham was the intercessor for the innocent, who would shield the Judge of the earth from the suspicion of having done wrong (Gen. 18 25). To E Abraham was an ideal prophet of God, whom God protected, whose intercession he heard (Gen. 20), and whose faith did not waver in the face of the hardest sacrifice (Gen. 22). To P Abraham was the great ancestor of the nation, with whom God confirmed a covenant by the sacred and perpetual rite of circumcision (Gen. 17). Later Jews seem to have regarded Abraham as a man so holy that all his physical descendants were necessarily saints or children of God (cf. Dan. 7 25, John 8 33. 39). Paul regarded Abraham as an ideal exponent of faith, to whom souls of similar faith were akin (Rom. 4 16); the great Johannine author regarded him as a moral ideal, to whom men of a similar moral stamp were related (John 8 39 b), and the idea very likely goes back to Jesus Himself. To the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews Abraham is the type of the ideal world-pilgrim, or Christian, never satisfied with the transitory, who "sought for a city that hath the foundations" (Heb. 11 10). A Jewish tradition embodied in Yalqut²⁹ represents Abraham as the redeeming father, who will one day go to Gehenna and rescue from hell his unfortunate children who have been cast in thither.

One would, of course, prefer to believe that Abraham was an historical character, but some of the sublimest ideals have been enshrined in story and parable, as well as in historic

²⁹ Quoted by Weber, *Jüdische Theologie*, p. 343.

men, and the ideal is as real and as useful for teaching in one case as in the other.

Abraham, as an ideal which represented the best thought of different periods, drew upward the saints of various ages and was a potent influence for good. This ideal is enshrined in the world's most immortal literature; it has become the fiber of the character of unnumbered saints. Neither the ideal nor the character can be touched by the verdict either of criticism or archæology. To Christians Abraham as the embodiment of the highest ideal ceased to be vital after the first century of our era. The separation from Judaism and the influx of Gentile Christians brought other personages to the fore. Christ became the One Leader; His divine character and work overshadowed all others.

In the face of these facts, one cannot but regard the excitement about Abraham and criticism and Abraham and archæology as unnecessary and ill advised. Whatever the truth may be, it will eventually prevail. No real scholar desires to substantiate a position simply because it is old, or to embrace an opinion simply because it is new and revolutionary. He desires the truth and the whole truth, and he welcomes any science which can help him to it. Such men refuse to convict criticism at the bar of archæology or archæology at the bar of criticism, but realize that both sciences are handmaids in the service of the truth.

The Earliest Hebrew Writings and their Religious Value

JOHN P. PETERS

NEW YORK CITY

HISTORICAL writing began in Judah at or shortly after the time of David, with the story of the life of that monarch. This was followed by the history of Saul, and this by the story of the period preceding, until at length the history was carried back to the creation. At the same time it was continued forward to cover the reigns of succeeding monarchs, but after Solomon in the form of brief, dry chronicles. Later a similar work was composed in Israel. When Amos and Hosea prophesied, at or before the middle of the eighth century, these two collections were in existence, and considerable portions of them, imbedded in the later historical works, the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings, have come down to us.¹ A study of these early compositions shows us the development in some circles of a higher, more spiritual life than that which was expressed either in the ritual or in that earlier prophetic movement of the *nebiim*. The latter movement, in fact, while it influenced the thought of the writers or compilers of these collections, was in general the medium through which certain of the doctrines or ideas of these higher thinkers were communicated to or made effective on the mass of the people, and the people prepared for that higher movement based on these ideas which commences with Amos and Hosea.

¹ They are known in the critical analysis as J and E, and earlier and later strata are often designated by further differentiations as J¹, J², etc. They may be read separately in such works as Addis' *The Documents of the Hexateuch*, Bacon's *Genesis, Exodus*, and the different volumes of the Polychrome Bible. The analysis will be found in Driver's or any good modern introduction, or in modern commentaries on the separate books.

For the story of creation, the development of civilization, agriculture, and the arts, the division of men into different nations with different languages, and the like, the original material of the Judæan story is evidently the myths, legends, and traditions which the Israelites found among the Canaanites. These the Canaanites on their part had borrowed from the Babylonians, probably during the long period of Babylonian domination of the West Land, and the old Babylonian material is clearly recognizable in the Hebrew narratives. So it is eastward in Eden that man takes his origin; it is at Babel that the speech of man is confounded and different languages originate. The connection of the Hebrew flood story with the Babylonian is clear to the most casual observer, and it is plain that the Hebrew idea of the heavens and the water above and the water below the earth are identical with the Babylonian; the sacred tree and the tempting serpent appear in old Babylonian art, and the man who must consort with the beasts before a helpmeet is found for him recalls Eabani, the primitive man in the Gilgamesh epic, who satisfies his passion with the beasts until Ishtar sends him a woman from her devotees.² The comparison of this last-named story with the sweet, wholesome, and beautiful picture of the relation of man and woman in the Judæan narrative brings out a characteristic feature of Hebrew religion as here represented, its freedom from the sexual idea. In Babylonia, Phœnicia, Syria, and Palestine great importance attached to Ishtar or Astarte, in whose cult prostitution played so prominent a part, the worship in kind of that great mysterious life-bearing power, to which is attributable so much of the joy and happiness, as well as the sorrow and pain of life, and without which the world must speedily come to an end. In the Hebrew there is no Ishtar; her life-giving functions have been assigned to Yahaweh, and the sex feature has been eliminated. In the story of the temptation we find a view of the carnal relation of man and woman which seems in

² Gen. 2 18 ff. Cf. Jastrow, *AJSL*, xv. 207 f.; Barton, *Sketch of Semitic Origins*, 43; Peters, *Early Hebrew Story*.

some regards almost monastic. It is through this relation that the eyes of man and woman are opened, the sense of decency in clothing is developed, innocence is lost. God is in some way offended, man estranged from Him, banished from His presence,³ and condemned to a life of toil and pain. It is true that we have passages, like the story of Judah and Tamar,⁴ in which the consecrated harlot or *kedesha* appears. This particular story belongs not to that part of the narrative derived from the ancient myths, but to the folklore history of the tribes, and narrates the mixture by intermarriage of Judah with the native Canaanites. It was in precisely such intermarriage, with its resultant combination of gods and cults, that the danger of Israel lay. The religion of Israel was affected by its contact with Canaan in this regard, and certain immoral practices were introduced in the cult of the temples and high places. This is testified to not only by such stories as that of Judah and Tamar, but also by categorical statements of both the Judæan and Israelite⁵ narratives; but it is clear that this did not meet the approval of the better minds, and that such practices were never regarded by them as an integral part of their religion. It is presumably true that certain ideas and practices, not considered immoral at the outset but so considered later, were glossed and eliminated by succeeding writers; but, making all due allowance for this, it remains a fact of the greatest significance that the thinkers of Israel, having such myths as their material and surrounded by such licentious practices, sanctioned and required by religion, should have developed a product so spiritual and so void of immorality.

It is noteworthy also that these myths, which in their original form are grossly polytheistic, become in Hebrew monolatrous and almost monotheistic. It is Yahaweh who

³ Cf. with this the rule which forbade a man to partake of holy things within a certain period after cohabitation, 1 Sam. 21 4 f.

⁴ Gen. 38 21. Evidently certain usages, immoral in their nature and inconsistent with the general principles represented by J, were accepted as facts, after a manner familiar in the history of all religions.

⁵ Cf. Judges 2, 3 5 f.

creates earth and heaven, man and the beasts, who drives man out of Eden because of his transgression, and sends a flood to drown men because they were become corrupt. We find a few slight indications of the polytheistic sources from which the material was drawn, such as the remnant of a story about the offspring of the "sons of god" (or the gods) and the "daughters of men";⁶ but such remnants only make more clear the monotheistic character of the Hebrew version of those ancient myths and legends, and emphasize the fact that the Hebrews deliberately blotted out all other gods, recognizing no god besides Yahaweh.

There is also in general a strong moral element pervading the Hebrew tales. So in the flood story it is the wickedness of man which causes Yahaweh to send destruction upon him, not, as in the Babylonian tale, the mere caprice of the gods or a sort of fate which compels the gods themselves. There is a moral purpose in Yahaweh's government of the universe and His dealings with men. This is not, it is true, carried out consistently, and in some cases the motives ascribed to Yahaweh are those of caprice or favoritism or jealousy. It is the smell of the sweet fragrance of sacrifice, so long absent, which leads Yahaweh to say in His heart that He will not again curse the ground because of man.⁷ It is jealousy of man's power and independence which causes Yahaweh to drive him out of Eden⁸ and to confound his speech at Babel.⁹ But while we have such representations, similar in principle to the representations of the sources from which the compilers of these tales drew their material, yet in general Yahaweh is represented as acting on moral grounds, and as showing loving-kindness and mercy toward men.

The stories of the patriarchs, beginning with the twelfth chapter of Genesis, are of a different origin. One important element is local folklore, and especially the tales of the local sanctuaries which were adopted by the Hebrews. The story of Abraham in the Judæan narrative connects itself with Mamre or Hebron and with a tomb or *ziara* of Abraham at that place. It is evident from the story that the sanctity of

⁶ Gen. 6 2 ff.

⁷ Gen. 8 21.

⁸ Gen. 3 22.

⁹ Gen. 11 4 f.

this place antedated the Hebrew occupation. This sanctity was taken over by the Hebrews, with its local traditions. With these local traditions were combined by the Hebrews their own ethnic traditions, so that Abraham becomes in a sense the impersonation of the Hebrew people. Even the great historical event of the deliverance of the Hebrews from Egypt appears in the Judæan narrative of Abraham. The Israelite or Elohist narrative connects the name of Abraham with the region further southward about Beersheba, a favorite place of pilgrimage for Israelites. With this latter region, and especially with the shrine of Beersheba, were connected also the name and the traditions of Isaac.

The name of Jacob was associated with the ancient sanctuary of Bethel. This was conquered by the Israelites, who, according to the early and evidently historical narrative in Judges,¹⁰ destroyed the inhabitants. But clearly, also, they took over the ancient sanctuary, so that in the same narrative we read that "the messenger of Yahaweh went up from Gilgal to Bethel (so LXX); and they offered sacrifice there to Yahaweh."¹¹ With the sanctity of the place were taken over its cult and its traditions, the great *mazzebah* which Jacob set up, and the natural high place, rising like a *ziggurat* heavenward. With the local traditions of the ancient shrine were combined the folklore of Israel, and the native Jacob was identified with the conquering Israel. As in the case of Abraham, so here, also, the descent into and the return from Egypt were woven into the story, until the folklore connected primarily with the sanctuary of Bethel became a compendium of the national legends and traditions.

Somewhat similarly, with Shechem was associated Joseph, who becomes the parent of the great central tribes of Manasseh and Ephraim.

As these stories have come down to us, they have been brought into connection with one another and with the worship of Yahaweh. He has displaced the local divinities, and these are His shrines consecrated by those honored

¹⁰ 1 22 ff.

¹¹ Judges 2 1. 5.

fathers, the patriarchs, who, after a method common in other religions, have been brought into a genealogical relation.

Other shrines and cults were more local in their influence. In the story of Jephthah¹² an event of Israel's history has been brought into connection with a cult in Gilead in which the maidens lamented "four days in the year for the daughter of Jephthah." In the story of Samson¹³ we have, apparently, combined with historical events of a struggle with the Philistines, mythical elements connected with the neighboring Beth-Shemesh, the sanctuary of the sun-god Shamash. Here we have also a strange and primitive combination of the Nazarite and the consecrated harlot. Both of these stories, like that of Judah and Tamar, already noticed, bring us into connection with the obscene sexual worship evidently so common in Canaan. It is probable that other stories of a similar character existed in the earlier period, and that those tales which have come down to us contained gross elements which were later glossed over or eliminated. Considering their origin in the cult and myths of the native shrines, this is at least what we should expect. The remarkable fact is that those grosser elements should have been so effaced, and at such an early date that the earliest Judæan and Israelite collections contain only such feeble traces of them as are noted above.¹⁴

The lore of most of the sanctuaries perished, or was preserved in small fragments mingled with later history or with the great stream of popular story which connected itself with Bethel, Mamre, and Beersheba. So popular, on the other hand, did the tales connected with these sanctuaries become, that Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob assumed a national existence, dissociated to some extent from locality,

¹² Judges 11.

¹³ Judges 13-16.

¹⁴ It is worthy of note that the stories of Jephthah and Samson belong to the concubine tribes of Gad and Dan, which we have reason to suppose were of Canaanite origin. These stories may, therefore, be connected with their ancient worship. In the case of Dan, the myths or legends of Beth-Shemesh are mingled with the historical struggle against the Philistines. All the more remarkable becomes the monotheistic transformation which they underwent in the crucible of Israelite folklore.

and connected with the people as a whole. These stories, as their content shows, the historical references interwoven with the earlier myths and legends, had assumed form before the time of David, as a part of the lore of the nation. They were utilized later as history by the early historical writers of Judah and Israel, and underwent more or less modification, and probably also spiritualization, at the hands of those writers. But the gist and the bent of these tales were presumably settled long before the time of those writers or compilers.

As a whole, this patriarchal lore presents a pure and spiritual, if naïve and childlike, conception of mingled religion and morality. Especially is this the case with the story of Abraham, whose character is depicted as wonderfully grand and beautiful. He becomes a type of that unworldly goodness, rooted in faith, which the later prophets preach. At the divine command he leaves his home to seek a foreign land which God promises to give him. His wife is barren, and God promises that his seed shall inherit the land. At God's command he prepares to offer up his only son. He goes through life listening for the true teaching of God, which is not shut up in formal precepts.¹⁵ He is hospitable, merciful, compassionate.

The story of Jacob does not present so high a model, and that of Isaac is shadowy compared with the others, but all alike exhibit a clear conception of the difference between Israel and other peoples, more particularly the Canaanites, and Israel's racial and religious antagonism to the latter. Israel is the people of Yahaweh, whom He has chosen from among all peoples, and to whom He has given the land of Canaan. Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are their ancestors, strangers to the Canaanites among whom they dwelt, to whom Yahaweh promised children and heirs, which they are. Their relation to Yahaweh is a moral one, or rather He is a moral God who abhors and punishes sensuality and crime. So he destroys Sodom and Gomorrah with fire and brimstone because of their unnatural lust, from which, as it would seem, Moab and

¹⁵ Cf. art. "Abraham," *Encyclopædia Biblica*.

Ammon as well as Israel were free. How prevalent this unnatural lust was, and that it was sanctioned by religion, is made clear by the later history and legislation of Israel. How abhorrent it was to the better consciences in Israel, and yet how great a danger to the people, is shown not only by the story of Sodom and Gomorrah,¹⁶ but also by the ancient and gruesome story of the crime of Gibeah,¹⁷ which is evidently in its main features historical. Another of the abominations not only of Canaan, but also of the surrounding nations, was the sacrifice of first-born sons. This is condemned in the story of Abraham's would-be offering of Isaac, which recognizes the right of God to the first-born, for whom, by substitution, is to be sacrificed a ram.¹⁸

The deliverance from Egypt, the life in the wilderness, and the formation of the people of Israel under the law of Yahaweh, constitute a cycle of traditions of another character, entirely Israelite in origin, centering around the person of Moses. These traditions evidently originated among the people before the time of the Judæan and Israelite collectors, by whom they were gathered together and incorporated in their histories. In these traditions Moses is represented as the founder of the nation and religion of Israel, the interpreter and mediator to it of the will of Yahaweh, who gives it a law from Yahaweh. Accordingly the laws which existed at the time when these collections were made were ascribed to Moses, who was supposed to have obtained them from Yahaweh. This cycle of traditions also makes clear the fact that the god of Israel was one, and that Israel might have no god besides Him, for He was a jealous god, who would brook no rival. Israel was a peculiar people, separated from the nations, holy to Yahaweh. Yahaweh fought for them and gave them the lands of the Canaanites for an heritage.

Closely connected with this cycle are the traditions of the conquest of Canaan, which reveal the same conception of

¹⁶ Gen. 19.

¹⁷ Judges 19-21.

¹⁸ Gen. 22. This appears in the Israelite narrative (E) and seems to be a product of the period of reflection when these stories were collected rather than a part of the original Hebrew lore.

Israel's relation to Yahaweh and to the nations of Canaan. Connection and intermarriage with them is forbidden, since it involves acceptance of their gods. The worship of those gods was connected with immoral practices abhorrent to the religion of Yahaweh.¹⁹ Sometimes, however, we find that some foreign or even immoral practice has been condoned and has lingered on, its existence being accounted for and excused by some story like that of Rahab, the harlot, of Jericho, which may have an historical foundation.²⁰

Following this we have a cycle of local and tribal traditions of the vicissitudes of the occupation of the land, the struggles with Canaanites, Moabites, Ammonites, Midianites, and Philistines, material contained in our present book of Judges, with part of Samuel. These traditions are diverse in character, and some of them have connections with local shrines and cults, as already pointed out.

With the story of Saul we begin to find ourselves on more strictly historical ground, the events narrated being closer to the time of their recording and the conditions favoring a more accurate preservation of the facts. The story of David was written almost, if not quite, by contemporaries, and from that time on we are dealing in general with history. But throughout all this mass of diverse material, Babylonian-Canaanite myths and legends, the legends of the sanctuaries, tribal and clan legends and traditions, the national traditions of Israel, the stories of its legendary and traditional heroes, its patriotic and folk songs, the records of court chroniclers and historiographers, and the stories of the prophets, runs the same monotheistic strain, the same pure, moral tone, distinct from and antagonistic to the surrounding polytheism and religious licentiousness.

The picture of Yahaweh's religion and of Israel's relation to Yahaweh which we obtain from these earliest writings, may be roughly described as follows: Yahaweh is a person like man, only wiser and stronger. He walks in the garden of Eden in the cool of the day, He comes down to see what man is doing at Babel, He visits Abraham in human form

¹⁹ Cf. Num. 25 1 ff.

²⁰ Josh. 2, 6 22 ff.

But in the later thought represented in these writings we find a movement away from this naïve anthropomorphism. He reveals Himself through His messenger, He shows Himself in the pillar of cloud and fire, man cannot see Him face to face, but only His hinder parts, and we even reach in the story of Elijah the thought of His manifestation, not in the cloud or the fire or the earthquake, but in the still, small voice which speaks in the heart of man. He is localized, having His abode in Horeb or Sinai, in the land of Canaan, which becomes His land, or more peculiarly in this or that sacred spot or object in which He manifests Himself. He dwells in the Ark, in the cherubim. He is worshiped in the stones or pillars at or on which one pours out the blood or the oil, which one touches or strokes. He is summoned by the smell of the sacrifice, and placated and satisfied by it; He consumes it by His fire. But withal He dwells unseen, in a region and a wise beyond the ken of man, in thick darkness. This is all very crude, unphilosophical, and inconsistent; and it is inconsistent partly because it represents different stages in the development of the thought of God, partly because it is unphilosophical. They knew Yahaweh only as they came in contact with Him; beyond that, not being speculative, they did not go.

Yahaweh is clearly marked off from the forces of nature, which He controls. He is a jealous God, not tolerating any God beside Himself, and therefore all supernatural agencies and effects in His land are centered in Him. He sends alike drought and rain, famine and plenty, sickness and health. Greatly to be feared is His wrath, which He displays especially towards Israel's foes, but at times also towards Israel itself when it violates His honor and sanctity. While in general Yahaweh has an ethical character and bestows His bounties or displays His wrath for moral causes, yet this is by no means always the case. The causes of His wrath are at times unethical, due to a transgression of His prerogative in some possibly unknown manner; and because His wrath is thus at times unethical, therefore also it must be satisfied by unethical and savage means, such as the sacrificial or semi-

sacrificial death of innocent offenders, or members of the family of the offender.²¹

But it was not in general the wrath of God which was in the mind of the Israelites in connection with God. In its outward expression, in its feasts and its friendly relations with its God, the religion of Israel was glad and joyful, and a similar conception of the relations of Israel to Yahaweh shows itself in these writings. The Israelite was proud of his God, and of His unique power and character. He delights to tell of the victories of his God over the gods of other peoples. In Egypt his God enables Moses to overmatch the sorcery of the Egyptians. But in Israel's relation to Him there is no sorcery nor magic art; in fact, there is a remarkable freedom from superstition. This and the thought that Yahaweh alone was lord in Canaan led to the condemnation of sorcery and witchcraft, which, nevertheless, continued to be practiced. Clearly the common people believed in the existence of malignant spirits, whom they sought to propitiate in order to avoid their curse and win their favor, and through whom, or the spirits of the dead, they sought to obtain guidance and knowledge of the future. The higher thinkers, although not prepared to dispute the existence of such agencies, nevertheless opposed their recognition and cult as an offense against the jealousy and exclusiveness of Yahaweh, who can and does in fact Himself fill this field, so that the propitiation or consultation of such spirits is really quite unnecessary.

The name Yahaweh, while it plays in these writings a larger part probably than it did in common practice, is not even there the exclusive use. Men might and did call God *baal*, or *melek*, or *adon*, or father, uncle, brother, etc., and in Israel there was more particularly an inclination to use the more general *el*, deity, or *elohim*, God. This renders it easier at the outset to identify the god of Israel with the gods of the various local shrines, the *baal*, or *god*, or *father* of Mamre or Bethel, or whatever else. But gradually more emphasis is

²¹ Cf. the death of Saul's descendants, 2 Sam. 21.

laid upon the special name, Yahaweh, of Israel's God. This development we can trace in these writings.

And now where and under what influences were these writings composed, and what relation did they bear to the actual religion of the people in the pre-prophetic period?

They bore the same relation to the actual religion of the people which the works of a few spiritual-minded thinkers, chiefly monks, bore to the actual religion of the masses of the people in Italy, or France, or Germany, or England in the dark ages. The name of Yahaweh, the tradition of His wonderful deliverances of His people, the belief that Israel was the people of Yahaweh—this the people held fast in the darkest part of the dark ages of Israel. This colored their folklore. There was a remembrance also of Moses, but, one would judge, very little of his teaching or religion, except as that and the rough morality of the nomad combined to protect them somewhat against the licentiousness of the religion of Canaan, or to keep alive a protest against it. A more formal expression of Moses' religious teaching was preserved in the cult connected with the Ark, and probably, also, borrowed from that, in a more or less modified form, in other shrines. A more ethical recollection and understanding of the religion of the great prophet and founder was preserved by a few thinkers. With the development of the national and literary sense this was applied to the folklore which had sprung up or been borrowed in the ways above indicated, with the result of selecting what was best in that, and modifying and spiritualizing it still further.²² The strengthening of the national sense aroused a desire to be informed of the past, and a pride in the nation's origin, achievements, and, as it were, peculiarities, which greatly reënforced the literary and religious motives. With the attempt to study their past comes inevitably a higher appreciation of the ethical aspect of the religion of Moses and a truer perception of the principles of that religion. We have here, in fact, the same sort of result which followed from the attempt among Christians to

²² The Judæan story is on the whole closer to the folklore than the Israelite, which shows more of the reflective and conscious element.

study the life and teachings of Jesus. This affected in its turn the folklore as embodied in the national stories which were being collected, and this in turn, as the culture and the national sense of the people increased, affected a constantly increasing number, but in its entirety always a relatively small minority. Religious practice did not change at all in pace with the changed conceptions of the thinking few who were most deeply affected by the spiritual and ethical literary development, until at last the latter came to be not only far in advance of, but also in opposition to the common expression of religion among the people, and the ideas connected with that expression. This was the condition reached in the prophetic period, but prepared by the school of writers and compilers whose work has come down to us in the fragments of the Judæan and Israelite collections known to the critics in the Hexateuch as J and E, with the kindred material in Judges, Samuel, and Kings.²³

²³ For parallels to the growth of Hebrew chronicles and legislation in Anglo-Saxon chronicles and laws, cf. Carpenter-Battersby, *Hexateuch*, I. Chap. I.; Peters, *The Old Testament and the New Scholarship*, Chap. V.

Azariah of Judah and Tiglath-pileser III

HOWELL M. HAYDN

WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY

DID Azariah of Judah actually come into conflict with Tiglath-pileser III or not? This was formerly an open question, but it is so no longer, if one may judge by the expressions of the latest authorities. They subscribe, with practical unanimity, to the conclusions of Winckler,¹ who denies that the aforesaid monarchs ever had any dealings with each other, and explains the famous "Azrijâu" passages in Tiglath-pileser's "Annals," which seem to suggest that they did, as referring to an entirely different person from the king of Judah. Manifestly this newer theory of Winckler, as also the older one of Schrader, who identified "Azrijâu" with Azariah, must finally stand or fall by its harmony with the sanest interpretation of the Assyrian Inscriptions, and hence a fresh survey of the question from this standpoint seems permissible to the present writer.

I. *The Evidence of the Assyrian Inscriptions*

As is well known, Tiglath-pileser's "Annals" are in a fragmentary condition, and they are especially fragmentary where they speak of "Azrijâu," in the two inscriptions known as III R 9, No. 2, and III R 9, No. 3.² A duplicate of the latter has fortunately come to light, but none of the former. The transliteration of the two, as given by Schrader,³ is as follows:

(III R 9, No. 2)

1. 3. . . . ja-a-u mât Ja-u-da-ai kima . . .
1. 4. . . . su(?)-ri-ja-u mât Ja-u-di . . .
1. 10. . . . [j]a-a-u i-ki-mu u-dan-ni-nu-su-ma . . .

¹ First published in 1893.

² Rawlinson's Collection.

³ *KAT*,² 1883; Engl. transl., i. 209 ff.

(III R 9, No. 3)

- l. 23. . . . Az-ri-a-u . . . [u] šab-bit rab . . . [ka?]-ti-ja
 l. 31. (end) . . . Ša ina ħi-iṭ-ṭi-sun za-rar-ti ana
 Az-ri-ja-a-u i-ki-i-mu.

Observe here that in the first inscription the name of the person concerned occurs three times, each time imperfectly, but that of his country twice, completely, while in the second, on the contrary, the name of the individual occurs twice in full, but there is no mention of his country. Observe also that in line 4 of the first inscription the name is given more fully than in line 3, another sign toward the beginning of the name being preserved, and so much of the one before that, as to suggest what it was. The same man is meant in both these lines, since the "mât Ja-u-da-ai" of the first is admittedly identical with the "mât Ja-u-di" of the second. That he is, further, the king of the country, is the natural inference from the uniform practice of the "Annals," to name in the records of campaigns the kings of the opposition with the lands or cities of their rule.

But is this king of "Ja-u-di," of the first inscription, whose name can only be conjectured as it stands, the same man as the land-less "Az-ri-ja-a-u" of the second? If so, the former would find his name, and the latter, his country, and the equation: Azrijâu of Jaudi = Azarjâhu of Jehudhah would certainly appear plausible.

This identity of the two names Schrader endeavored to prove, his best argument being based on the fact already noted that the *country* of the "Azrijâu" of the second inscription is not given. Inasmuch as the context in line 31 is unbroken, this would naturally suggest that he had been mentioned *with* his country a little earlier, and make his identification with "šu(?)-ri-ja-u mât Ja-u-di" of the first inscription very probable. Of course the close sequence of the two inscriptions, also, would be here involved.

Schrader failed to convince all, however, though convinced fully himself. Wellhausen,⁴ *e.g.*, maintained that the first

⁴ *Jahrbücher für Deutsche Theologie*, xx. p. 633.

inscription had "no intelligible connection with" the second, and that the two names were entirely different. The difficulties attaching to the identification from the Old Testament side loomed large to him, and to others, and thus matters stood, with perhaps the majority holding Schrader's position, until 1893, when the appearance of Rost's work on the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III⁵ led to two remarkable but contradictory developments.

1. Rost himself accepted Schrader's identification.⁶ He had secured for his work clearer reproductions of the original inscriptions than had been available for Schrader, and from them he argued that the sign in the personal name of the first inscription, which Schrader thought either "su" or "aş," was really "iz." Then there would be no need to prefix "A," as Schrader did, making "Aşurijâu," but the name would stand complete as "Iz-ri-jâ-u." As compared now, with the "Az-ri-jâ-u" of the second inscription, the difference would be only that between "az" and "iz," a difference paralleled by the writing of the name "Askelon" in the Assyrian inscriptions both "Askaluna" and "Iskaluna."

This demonstration of the identity of the names was accepted generally as conclusive. Schrader, so far at least, was right, and his main contention, that this Azrijâu of Jaudi was none other than Azariah of Judah, as a result of this unexpected clearing away of difficulties, and Rost's support, seemed, also, all but certainly established.

2. But now came the other and most unexpected development from Rost's work. In the same year that it appeared, Winckler⁷ made its text the documentary basis, on the Assyrian side, of an entirely different theory as to the personality and habitat of "Azrijâu" or, as he preferred to call him, "Izrijâu." This theory is to-day so well known, that it need be only briefly given here.

It rests upon two of the North-Semitic inscriptions found at Zenjirli in Northwest Syria about the year 1890, in which there occurs the name of a kingdom or principality of

⁵ *Die Keilschrifttexte Tiglat-pileasers III.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, ii. p. xxiii.

⁷ *Altorientalische Forschungen*, 1893, pp. 1 ff.

that region, which, transliterated into the familiar square character, reads "𐤊𐤍". Winckler was struck by this form "𐤊𐤍", and its general resemblance to the "Ja-u-di" of the puzzling "Azrijâu" inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III, which date from practically the same time. He saw that this resemblance would become identity if the 𐤍 of "𐤊𐤍" could be read as a consonant, and vowelised with "u"; both forms would then = "Ja-u-di," and "Azrijâu mât Ja-u-di," need not any longer be taken as "Azariah of Judah," but could equally well be "Azrijâu," or "Izrijâu," of "Ja-u-di," this little state of Northern Syria. For many reasons, chiefly relating to Old Testament history and chronology, Winckler supported this latter identification in preference to the older view of Schrader, and he has had great success in winning recruits to his standard.

But, granting the attractiveness of his solution, is not the real question, as between his view and Schrader's, one of evidence, the evidence of all the *Assyrian* inscriptions of the period, and not simply of these two Aramaic inscriptions, with their somewhat doubtful "Ja-u-di"?⁸ The Assyrian inscriptions do not support Winckler's theory very well. In only one passage,⁹ aside from that under discussion, can he claim with any confidence that they mean by "mât Ja-u-di" his North Syrian country, while the cases in which they uncontestedly refer to Judah by that term are numerous, and cover the considerable period between Tiglath-pileser III and Esarhaddon.

But the evidence in favor of Judah goes further. A look back at the transliteration of III R 9, No. 2, will show that after the personal name in line 4 there occurs, "mât Ja-u-di," but after that name in line 3, "mât Ja-u-da-ai." Now since Winckler so cordially follows Rost and Schrader in declaring the same man to be referred to in both lines, being especially taken with the former's determination of his name as "Iz-ri-jâ-u," he must surely admit the consequence — that the

⁸ G. A. Cooke, e.g. in his "North Semitic Inscriptions," 1903, differs sharply from Winckler, taking 𐤍 as quiescent, and reading "Ya'di."

⁹ I.e. Sargon's Nimrûd Inscription, l. 8. Cf. *KB*, ii. p. 100.

"mât Ja-u-da-ai" has just as much right to be considered in determining "Izrijâu's" or "Azrijâu's" habitat as the "mât Ja-u-di." But even a cursory glance at the inscriptions of the period will show that "mât Ja-u-da-ai" occurs therein, as a designation of Judah, fully as frequently as "mât Ja-u-di."¹⁰ It is both curious and significant that these two designations of Judah, found separately so often, should occur in succeeding lines of this mere fragment, so that, with all its tantalizing imperfection, it nevertheless gives a *double* indication of the mysterious "Izrijâu's" country:

mât Ja-u-da-ai = Judah,
mât Ja-u-di = Judah.

Consider the bearing of this double equation upon the question at issue a little further, since it is the main point upon which the present writer rests his case, and the one new factor he can claim to have brought forward. Here, then, is a country, named in a certain Assyrian inscription, whose identity cannot be conclusively established by the context. The passage which refers to it gives its name in two different, but closely related, forms. These two forms recur, separately, several times, in other Assyrian inscriptions of the same general period, where their respective contexts indisputably identify *each* with the *same* definitely known country. By the very law of probabilities, then, the argument for the identity of the two countries, the unknown and the known, must be admitted to be many times stronger than if only one name-form connected the two. And, this being so, the probability, also, that the better form of the personal name is "*Azrijâu*," — in spite of Winckler's preference for "Izrijâu," — and that it corresponds to the Biblical "Azarjâhu" of Judah, is proportionately increased.

Such considerations might well give pause to too hasty an acceptance of Winckler's theory. Indeed, one cannot help a feeling of surprise that one so keen for close distinctions as Winckler shows himself to be, *e.g.* in his careful treatment of the \aleph in "𐤀", should have failed to note the form

¹⁰ *E.g.* Tigl.-pil. III, *Prunkinschrift*, II R 67, l. 61; Sennacherib's Prism Inscription, col. ii. l. 72, and in other places.

"mât Ja-u-da-ai" as well as "mât Ja-u-di," and to recognize its importance. The substantiation, through contemporary inscriptions, of its uniform reference to Judah elsewhere makes its value far greater, by the laws of evidence, for the determination of its reference as to Judah here also, than is the value of "𐤊𐤍" for fixing its reference as to another "mât Ja-u-di" in Northern Syria. And when it is remembered, further, that the 𐤊 in this word may not be used as a consonant, the greater strength of the older view, so far as its inscriptional basis is concerned, will have to be conceded. It might almost be said that it is "a condition, and not a theory," which there obtains.

The strength of Winckler's view, then, if the preceding argument is valid, must be rather negative than positive, and lie in the gravity of the objections to identifying "Azrijâu" with Azariah.

II. *The Objections to the Identification of "Azrijâu mât Jaudi" with Azariah of Judah*

As the objections concern both what "Azrijâu" is represented as doing, and when and where he did it, the statements of the Inscriptions on these points must first be examined. Here, owing to the broken condition of III R 9, No. 2, the sole dependence is III R 9, No. 3, and its duplicate, Layard 65. In this section of the "Annals" is described Tiglath-pileser's subjugation to Assyria of a certain territory lying, apparently, in Northern Syria, between the mountains and the Mediterranean. A number of its localities are named, and then the account proceeds:¹¹ "Nineteen districts of the town Hamath, together with the towns in their circuit, which are situated on the coast of the Western Sea, which in their sin and wickedness sided¹² with Azrijâu I [*i.e.* Tiglath-pileser] turned into the territory of Assyria. My governor as administrator of the province I set over them, 30,300 of the inhabitants [I removed from]¹³ their towns and let them

¹¹ See Schrader and Rost, *l.c.*

¹² Most probable reading.

¹³ Text broken, Rost's proposed reading.

have the circuit of the city Ku . . .; 1223 of the inhabitants I settled in the district of the land of Ulluba." That is practically all there is concerning "Azrijâu" in the whole inscription; a mere passing allusion. If it were not for III R 9, No. 2, there would be no definite clew to his identity, and he would be set down simply as some king or prince in the general region under discussion, who was the leader of a considerable revolt against Tiglath-pileser, in which the "Nineteen districts of the town Hamath" had joined. But III R 9, No. 2, *seems* to connect him with *Judah*, and to suggest the possibility that he was Azariah, and "there's the rub."

As to the date of his activity there are very clear and explicit data. The inscriptions known as Layard 50 *a* and *b* and 67 *a* have been shown to continue Layard 65 (= III R 9, No. 3), and within their compass is found one of the few surviving dates of the "Annals." Some twenty-five lines beyond the allusion to "Azrijâu," Tiglath-pileser says:¹⁴ "In the ninth year of my reign, Aššur my lord inspired me with confidence and I made an expedition against the lands," etc. His ninth year is 737 B.C., and since this line marks the beginning of his account of the campaigns of that year, what precedes is, in the absence of another date, most naturally taken as referring to his eighth year, or 738 B.C.

Again, the Assyrian "Eponym List with Addenda" has this note for the year 739 B.C.: "To the land Ulluba, the city Birtu, conquests." But the "Azrijâu" passage says that Tiglath-pileser settled 1223 of those concerned in his rebellion "in the district of the land of Ulluba," and, as it seems only reasonable to infer that the conquest of Ulluba preceded the transportation thither of the conquered of other regions, it results that the "Azrijâu" revolt must have taken place *after* 739 B.C., or, at the earliest, in that year. From these two mutually independent data comes the general agreement of scholars that 738 B.C. was the year of "Azrijâu's" revolt. In the following discussion that year is accepted.

¹⁴ Rost, *op. cit.* I. 157.

What, then, are the objections to the supposition that Azariah of Judah promoted a revolt against Assyria in the year 738 B.C., in which some Syrian districts, apparently dependencies of Hamath, were involved? They are both chronological and historical.

1. The chronological objections may be thus stated: Azariah of Judah was either not alive in 738 B.C., or, if living, was so incapacitated through age and disease, that it would have been utterly impossible for him to lead a revolt against Tiglath-pileser, far beyond the boundaries of his kingdom. The second alternative of this proposition presents objections as much historical as chronological, and may be set aside for the present, but the first sets forth the chronological objection in its extreme form, and inasmuch as, if sustained, it is manifestly in itself sufficient to render all others superfluous, it must be considered before them. If it is indeed true that Azariah had died before 738 B.C., then, of course, it is impossible that the references in Tiglath-pileser's accounts of that year should be to him, and, in this impossibility, Winckler's theory would be a possible way out, though it would still seem as if *some* king of *Judah* were demanded by the double equation:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{mât Ja-u-di} &= \text{Judah,} \\ \text{mât Ja-u-da-ai} &= \text{Judah.} \end{aligned}$$

The two fixed data for computing the reigns of Judah's kings of this general period in years B.C. are, as is well known, supplied by the Assyrian Inscriptions in their mention of Jehu's presents to Shalmaneser II, 842 B.C., and of Ahaz's tribute to Tiglath-pileser, 734 B.C. It is generally assumed that these two propitiatory offerings to Assyria marked approximately the opening of the reigns of these kings, and hence it is substantially correct to take the number of years between the accessions of Athaliah (Jehu) and Ahaz as 842 - 734, or 108. Comparison, however, with the data supplied by the compiler of the book of Kings shows an excess therein for this same period of 35 years. In tracing this excess the accepted theory seems to be that it is to be assigned to the years given Amaziah, Azariah, and Jotham.

If 796 B.C., accordingly, be taken as a fair mean date for the accession of Amaziah, there are available 796 — 734, or 62 years, to contain the Biblical 97, *viz.* 29 of Amaziah, 52 of Azariah, and 16 of Jotham. Manifestly, no absolutely certain distribution of the excess, as between the three reigns, is possible. The Biblical data, when appealed to, seem to justify the following propositions, which are helpful in estimating probabilities:

(1) Jehoash, or Joash, of Judah came to the throne by counter-revolution when very young, and reigned about forty years.¹⁵ (This is generally admitted, since the error in the chronology of Kings, as stated above, is placed *after* Joash in the current reconstructions.)

(2) Amaziah, son of Joash, met with a violent death after a reign of uncertain length.¹⁶ (The Biblical twenty-nine years is universally held to be an error.)

(3) Azariah, son of Amaziah, at the death of his father, was taken by the people and made king of Judah when but sixteen years of age.¹⁷ (It is to be observed that these facts are given, not in the compiler's formula, but from the earlier historical source.)

(4) Azariah, in the latter part of his reign and until his death, was afflicted with leprosy, so that he lived in more or less complete seclusion, and his son Jotham "was over the household, judging the people of the land."¹⁸

From these statements, what are the natural deductions? Do they fairly forbid the supposition that Azariah was alive in 738 B.C.?

To solve the chronological difficulty by taking most of the thirty-five years' excess from the long reign of Azariah, rather than from the shorter reigns of Amaziah and Jotham, is, perhaps, a natural first thought, but the data just given seem to the present writer to be against doing this. Joash's long reign would argue for a much shorter reign for Amaziah, if, as is the natural supposition, the latter was the first-born son and already of a mature age when he came to the throne. More-

¹⁵ 2 K. 11 20-12 1.

¹⁶ 2 K. 14 19.

¹⁷ 2 K. 14 21.

¹⁸ 2 K. 15 5.

over, Amaziah's death was not a natural but a violent one, and this circumstance, taken with his mature age at accession, strengthens the probability that his reign was comparatively short. Similarly, the fact that Azariah came to the throne when he was but sixteen would argue that his reign, in the ordinary course of nature, would be a long one, and his son Jotham's correspondingly short. And this last deduction is rendered the more probable by the leprosy of Azariah's later years, which makes very plausible the theory, suggested, indeed, by the statements of Kings, of a co-reign of Jotham with Azariah. Of course, the exact duration of this co-reign would remain uncertain, but in any event it would cut short Jotham's independent reign by some years.

Suppose, then, that the compiler of Kings was right for once, when he assigned to Azariah a reign of fifty-two years. That would give for his accession year, on the hypothesis that he is "Azrijâu," as the earliest possible, $738 + 52$, or 790 B.C. Amaziah's reign would then be from 796 to 790 B.C., and Jotham's independent reign from 738 to 734 B.C., the whole excess coming out of their two reigns, rather than out of Azariah's.

This is apparently held by most Old Testament scholars to-day to be an untenable interpretation of the data. For example, Whitehouse declares¹⁹ that the chronological argument "tells decisively against" Azariah's coming into conflict with Tiglath-pileser in 738 B.C. What ground is there for such a positive statement? Is the above interpretation to be rejected simply because it makes possible what the most natural translation of "Azrijâu mât Jaudi" suggests? All the difference between it and the commonly accepted view would be that it makes Amaziah's reign and Jotham's independent reign shorter than the current chronological theories can allow, consistently with their general schemes, though they, too, admittedly shorten these reigns somewhat from the Biblical assignments. The present writer does not see why, even on the current chronological assumptions, it is

¹⁹ Article "Uzziah," in *Hastings's Dictionary*, 1902.

not entirely possible for Azariah of Judah to have been living in 738 B.C.

But, more than this, the fact that the chronological data given in Kings must always be compared with the superior data of the Assyrian Inscriptions and controlled thereby is in itself a weighty protest and argument against refusing to this particular datum from these inscriptions its most natural interpretation for reasons of Old Testament chronology. The vital question here concerns the actual meaning of the inscriptions, and, in the determination of this, considerations of chronology, from the very nature of the aforesaid relations between the inscriptions and the Old Testament, should be most carefully excluded. The double equation,

mât Ja-u-da-ai = Judah,

mât Ja-u-di = Judah,

points so strongly to *some* king of Judah's coming into collision with Tiglath-pileser, that simple justice to it would suggest as the fair chronological question not, "Does Azariah's collision with Tiglath-pileser III in 738 B.C. conflict with the particular scheme of Old Testament chronology that happens to be most in favor for the moment?" but, "Can that scheme be reconciled to this fixed date supplied by the inscriptions?" In short, whether the chronological objection be considered as to particulars or in its general aspects, there appears to be no compelling reason to deny that Azariah of Judah was living in 738 B.C.

2. The historical objections to the identification of "Azri-jâu" with Azariah are, strictly speaking, not in order, according to the general chronological argument just advanced, for they would reverse the usual rule, and subject what is apparently a doubly attested reference upon the Assyrian inscriptions to *some* king of Judah—from the name form most probably Azariah—to verification or rejection by Old Testament data. Still, as they are currently regarded, by Winckler and those who accept his theory, as conclusive against the older view, fairness demands that they be taken up. They are conveniently divided into: (a) Objections

based upon the insignificance of Azariah's kingdom and its distance from the scene of action in the revolt of "Azrijâu," and (b) objections based upon Azariah's physical condition in 738 B.C. In order to treat the questions thus raised adequately it is desirable first to see just what the facts are regarding Azariah's life and activities, as far as they are set forth in the Old Testament.

The account of Azariah or Uzziah is, so far as the book of Kings is concerned, exceedingly meager and unsatisfactory.²⁰ Aside from the regular editorial formulæ for the beginning and end of a Judean king's reign, which cannot be regarded as of independent historical value, it yields but three facts, or groups of facts:

(1) Azariah was made king by the people of Judah, after his father Amaziah's murder, when but sixteen years of age.

(2) He restored to Judah the Red Sea port of Elath, and rebuilt it, presumably for commercial and military reasons.

(3) He was afflicted with leprosy from an indeterminate point in his reign until his death, so that he was obliged to relinquish some part of his official duties,—most probably, from the terms employed, those connected with the public administration of justice,—to his son Jotham, and lived in at least partial seclusion.²¹

The book of Chronicles²² most unexpectedly fills out this all too brief contribution of the book of Kings with some statements regarding Azariah which are of the utmost importance to a proper estimate of his achievements and influence. It is notorious that the Chronicler's additions to the data he derives from Kings have to be thoroughly sifted, but in the present instance, when this is done, there remains a short section of his narrative²³ so sober and inherently credible in its statements, that to deny its historic trustworthiness appears to be hypercriticism.

This section yields the following facts regarding Azariah (Uzziah): (1) He won notable victories over the Philistines and Arabians. (2) He organized, equipped, and directed

²⁰ See 2 K. 14 21-22; 15 1-7.

²² See 2 Chr. 26.

²¹ 2 K. 15 5. The Hebrew is obscure.

²³ V. 6-12, 14-15 a.

his standing army in a manner so efficient as to call for special remark. (3) He put Jerusalem into a more defensible condition than it had previously enjoyed by erecting towers at certain points in the city wall. (4) He built other towers in outlying regions, as a protection to his large and numerous herds of cattle. (5) He stimulated greatly the prosperity of his kingdom by his marked attention to farming and vine culture, as well as stock raising. (6) He was so powerful that the Ammonites thought it wise to send him "presents," and "his name spread abroad even to the entering in of Egypt."

The value of these data to a correct estimate of Azariah and his kingdom, must be apparent. They interpret admirably, *e.g.*, the bare hint given in the book of Kings as to his military successes. Where the latter simply mentions his conquest of Elath, they show that conquest to have been but one feature of a comprehensive campaign carried on to the east, south, and west of Judah, which undoubtedly issued in her becoming the dominant power in all the region to the south of Israel. Such successful campaigns abroad, taken with the statesman-like measures of internal policy also described, constitute Azariah a not unworthy compeer of David and Solomon in his military and commercial enterprises, and suggest the question whether the Chronicler has not here rescued a great name in Hebrew history from a position of undeserved mediocrity.

a. If now the historical objections to Azariah's coming into conflict with Tiglath-pileser in 738 B.C., which are based upon the insignificance of Judah and her distance from the scene of "Azrijaû's" revolt, are looked at in the light of these statements from the book of Chronicles, they do not seem insuperable.

It is, *e.g.*, no longer pertinent to inquire scornfully what possible interest "little" Judah could have in the distant conquests of Tiglath-pileser, which were no concern of hers. If Azariah was such a man as the Chronicler suggests, and Kings also in part, a conqueror and statesman who throughout his long reign had been developing the military strength

of Judah until she was confessedly a power to be reckoned with in Canaan, then why could not he, as well as his subject Amos, read the signs of the times, and realize what the advance of Assyria, if unchecked, must mean to all the little states of the West? Where Amos had seen in the coming of the Assyrian the inevitable judgment of Jahweh, Azariah would see in it rather the summons to use the forces he had been consolidating for so long, to oppose Assyria, for the honor of Jahweh, and the preservation of the *status quo*. And inasmuch as, in 738 B.C., the great Jeroboam II no longer ruled in Israel, but the craven Menahem, proved by the Inscriptions to have been at this very time a truckler to Assyria, who would more naturally lead the states of the West which wished to oppose the arrogant Assyrian in the coalition of their forces, than Azariah, the one man of commanding genius left in that part of the world? That such a coalition was unsuccessful is not surprising, when Tiglath-pileser was the opponent. Even to attempt it, however, would require courage and ability of no mean order, and would be a fitting climax to Azariah's long and powerful reign.

Nor, again, to take up the other historical objection, based upon the alleged "weakness" of Judah at this time, can the mere inference from 2 K. 14, that Judah was but a vassal state to Israel all through Azariah's reign, be fairly urged as prohibiting the view of the history just outlined, in the face of the explicit testimony of Chronicles to Azariah's independent greatness. That the book of Kings, in this chapter, does describe an encounter between Jehoash of Israel and Amaziah of Judah, provoked by the latter, which left Judah completely at the mercy of Israel, is undeniable. And inasmuch as this defeat very probably occasioned the conspiracy in Judah by which Amaziah met his death, it is not impossible, further, that the youthful Azariah began his reign as the vassal of Israel. But this is by no means the equivalent of saying that he continued to be the vassal of Israel after he reached the maturity of his powers. Indeed, to maintain this in the patently fragmentary condition of the

narrative in Kings for that whole period, and with such independent testimony to the contrary at hand, is to assume a position that hardly seems critically defensible.²²

²² Perhaps it is not out of place at this point to inquire, in order to insure an impartial treatment of both theories, whether there are no objections of an historical character which might be urged, but for the great unanimity of scholarship in its favor, against Winckler's identification. To some minds such an objection would be found in the vagueness and indefiniteness attaching to Winckler's "Azrijâu" upon the Inscriptions. The proverb has it, indeed, that "where ignorance is bliss, 'tis folly to be wise," and that truth is perhaps brought home to Winckler in the present instance by the very troublesome facts that must be reckoned with in the life of Azariah, but that he nevertheless is dissatisfied to have his hero quite so minus a biography seems evident from the great pains he is at to deduce one for him. In doing this he is obliged to rely entirely upon the fragment from Tiglath-pileser's "Annals," already designated herein as III R 9, No. 2, since there is most unhappily no mention of "Azrijâu" in the Zenjirli Inscriptions. It is true that III R 9, No. 2, is unanimously regarded by Assyriologists as a very puzzling inscription, owing to its imperfect state of preservation, and even Rost's edition, for the most part so highly satisfactory to Winckler, does not render it everywhere intelligible; but Winckler does not lose courage in the face of these difficulties. Space will not permit the insertion here of all his reconstructions and notes, but one or two may be cited to show their highly original and suggestive character. Thus at ll. 106-107 Rost translates the broken text: (106) "... without number to heaven he raises," (107) "... with eyes like as from heaven." This is surely sufficiently enigmatic, but Winckler, without attempting to compete with Rost's translation, clears up the whole situation admirably by the simple note: "Several words seem to refer to the cities in which Izrijâu sought refuge." Again, in ll. 112-114, where Rost can only recover such bits as: (112) "... like vines," (113) "... was difficult," (114) "... was shut-in (?) and high," Winckler throws out the illuminating hint: "Broken words, probably belonging to the description of a place of refuge hard to storm." Thus it must be admitted that Winckler really assembles quite a biography of his "Azrijâu," though unfortunately it seems to be confined almost entirely to his last days, and even then leaves one in distressing uncertainty as to his fate. All that Winckler can say *apropos* of the break between III R 9, No. 2, and III R 9, No. 3, which comes at the very climax of events, is: "Missing, the ending of the siege." Did poor "Azrijâu" escape with his life, or was he captured and killed? It would be a great relief to know, but in any event his career, as set forth by Winckler, possesses a romantic interest, and makes that of Azariah seem prosaic, indeed, by comparison.

An historical objection which is of a more serious import, attaches itself to Winckler's handling of Tiglath-pileser's "Annals" at the point where the first "Azrijâu" inscription (III R 9, No. 2) comes in.

His whole theory, be it observed, as to the order of events in this

b. The second class of historical objections to the identification of "Azrijâu" with Azariah comprises those based upon the latter's physical condition in 738 B.C., which, it is said, would make it impossible for him to lead a revolt against Tiglath-pileser far beyond the boundaries of his kingdom. Three things are here implied: (1) Azariah was a very old man in 738 B.C.; (2) his leprosy did not permit of his taking any part in public affairs; (3) he took the field in person against Tiglath-pileser. As to (1) it would surely be permissible to urge, even against so great an authority as Wellhausen, whose opinion is epigrammatically expressed in his phrase, "Azariah vegetates, Jotham reigns," that 68 is not always decrepitude, nor does it necessarily mean mental decay or inertia, especially when a man has such varied interests as Azariah would seem to have had. Rather, so far as his age is concerned, Azariah would be in the very ripeness of his political sagacity and military experience in 738 B.C. As to (2), the exact statement of Kings regarding Azariah's leprosy is:²³ "And the Lord smote the king, so that he was a leper unto the day of his death, and dwelt in a several house. And

uprising, rests upon the supposition that the fragment of the "Annals" comprising lines 90-101 in Rost's text, and known as III R 9, No. 1, which describes Tutammû of Unki's refusal to pay tribute to Tiglath-pileser, and the consequent conquest of Unki, relates events of the same year as does the immediately following fragment, ll. 103-119, which is, of course, the first "Azrijâu" inscription (III R 9, No. 2), and has been seen to refer to the year 738 B.C. In fact, Winckler regards these two inscriptions as continuous, and is thus enabled to make Tiglath-pileser pass immediately from Unki to "Ja-u-di," which he has shown already by an elaborate argument to lie next to Unki. This line of march would be a natural one for Tiglath-pileser to follow, and thus Winckler builds up a very plausible theory of Tiglath-pileser's campaign of 738 B.C., and one entirely favorable to his own interpretation of "Azrijâu." But if Rost is right (*l.c.* II. *Introd.* pp. xxii ff.), there is a gap in the "Annals" at this point of at least two years, the fragment dealing with Tutammû being fixed by its reference to Arpad (l. 91) as relating to events not later than 740 B.C., when Arpad fell, while that dealing with "Azrijâu" is just as firmly tied up to 738 B.C. by its fellow-inscription III R 9, No. 3, as has been shown already. In view of the strong arguments Rost adduces in support of his position, it would seem as if Winckler must reconstruct his carefully built edifice of events, if it is to prove a safe habitation for his theory.

²³ 2 K. 15 6, *Engl. Rev.*, 1885.

Jotham the king's son was over the household, judging the people of the land." Some doubt attaches to the translation "several house," but the most satisfactory suggestion²⁴ upon the Hebrew phrase is that it points to a greater freedom being permitted Azariah than most in his condition. It is entirely within the rights of this passage to assert that it cannot fairly be made to mean that Azariah was totally incapacitated for rule by his disease. Its every legitimate requirement would seem to be satisfied by the supposition that Jotham simply took his father's place in those duties to the royal household and to the people at large which would require the king's personal presence, leaving to Azariah the direction of the foreign and domestic policies, and that more especially since it must be conceded that the exact nature and total progress of Azariah's "leprosy" cannot be certainly fixed. It is not said that he *died* of this disease, but, "he was a leper *unto* the day of his death," which may well mean something far less serious.

As to (3), if it is an inevitable conclusion, from impartial study of the "Azrijâu" Inscriptions, that "Azrijâu" took the field in person against Tiglath-pileser, then his identification with Azariah has received, beyond question, a body blow. It is true that the story of Naaman,²⁵ who was "captain of the host," though a "leper," shows that "leprosy" did not always keep men back from active warfare, but in Azariah's case the statements as to his seclusion seem fairly to preclude this.

But *is* such a personal, bodily share in the conflict a necessary inference from the accounts of "Azrijâu"? Of course it would appear so from Winckler's reconstruction of III R 9, No. 2, but it may well be doubted whether he is an altogether safe guide here, in view of the different position of Rost, as to both context and decipherable content. And in any event, to submit so strong an identification as is given in the double equation,

$$\begin{aligned}\text{mât Ja-u-da-ai} &= \text{Judah,} \\ \text{mât Ja-u-di} &= \text{Judah,}\end{aligned}$$

²⁴ Cf. Klostermann, cited by Burney, *ad loc.*

²⁵ 2 K. 5:1 ff.

to the test of a purely conjectural restoration, is to show a rather startling devotion to a theory. The present writer would earnestly contend that, in view of this equation, it is just as legitimate, to say the least, to interpret "Azrijâu's" activities in the light of what the Old Testament says concerning Azariah, as it is to construct a theory for him which makes his identification with this king of Judah impossible.

Two possibilities as to the actual course of events suggest themselves, if Azariah's personal participation in the campaign against Tiglath-pileser be waived. If one be disposed to press the implications of Azariah's "leprosy" to the point of making him helpless both in mind and body at this time, then it is, of course, entirely compatible with the Biblical suggestion of a co-reign, that Jotham should have planned the great coalition against Tiglath-pileser, as well as taken the field in command of Judah's quota of troops. Azariah, as titular king, would still be given the credit of instigating the uprising in Tiglath-pileser's "Annals." There is no justification, as Schrader long ago pointed out, for disparaging Jotham, as to either character or ability. But, from the drift of the preceding discussion, it must be evident that the present writer inclines rather to a second possibility, — which commends itself to him as more consonant with the statements of the records in the case, whether Assyrian or Biblical, — which is, that it was Azariah himself, Judah's greatest king since David, in body leprous, but in mind alert and vigorous as ever, who in his last year planned the coalition of forces against Assyria mentioned by Tiglath-pileser in connection with "Azrijâu." His then, in fact as well as in record, would be the credit for the intrepid venture, even though he had to leave the actual command in the field to some one else.

Such a view of the course of events the present writer believes to be not a mere fancy, but an entirely possible interpretation of the Biblical and Assyrian data, and one which presents fully as strong a case as the theory of Winckler. He would, in all modesty, bespeak a reopening of the question.

Note on Amos 2 7a

JULIUS A. BEWER

UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

THE difficulty in Am. 2 7a is now usually solved by omitting **על-עפר-ארץ**. Wellhausen¹ showed that they are the words that cause all the trouble, and therefore proposed to omit them. He appealed to the LXX for external support, and declared that it had apparently not read these words, because *τὰ πατοῦντα ἐπὶ τὸν χεῖμα τῆς γῆς* was "an altogether unconstruable addition" and impossible with *καὶ ἐκοιδύλιζον εἰς κεφαλὰς πτωχῶν*.

Professor Torrey² accepted this solution, and tried to explain how the double reading in the LXX arose. **השאפים** was wrongly connected with **נעלים** of the previous verse, "They sell . . . for a pair of shoes that trample." "It was this trampling of shoes that was further described by the addition of the words **על עפר ארץ**."

Now while the Greek translators might have made such a strange mistake as to connect **השאפים** with **נעלים**, it is not likely that a man who knew Hebrew well enough to annotate his Hebrew text, should have made this queer combination, especially after a proverbial phrase **בעבור נעלים**, whose meaning, if he did not know, the preceding words would have explained to him. That a Hebrew reader who translated **השאפים** by "trample upon" should have inserted, or have added in the margin, **על עפר ארץ** in order to explain to himself that one treads with sandals "on the dust of the earth" assumes in him, to say the least, a surprising simplicity. Or was he a poetic nature who expressed "old" sandals in this way? Assuming, for the sake of the argument,

¹ *Skizzen u. Vorarbeiten*, vol. v. *ad loc.*

² In this *Journal*, vol. xv. (1896), pp. 151 f.

that this reader was so simple-minded or so poetic, how did he continue the sentence? What did he do with בראש דלים? The Greek translator saw this point, and he continued therefore quite ingenuously καὶ ἐκονδύλιζον. Are we to suppose that the Hebrew reader would leave without comment this phrase, which is really much more in need of it, standing so isolated as it does, than "the sandals that trample"?

The very fact that the LXX knew just as little as modern scholars what to do with השאפים על עפר ארץ should put us on our guard. It speaks rather for than against the originality of the phrase.³ Driver⁴ has felt this, and is inclined to regard the reading of the Vulgate as probably original, "Who crush [השפים] the heads of the poor upon the dust of the earth." But we should expect the accusative after השפים, see especially Am. 8 4. And when we are not misled by the translation "crush," we expect לעפר rather than על עפר, "Who trample to the dust of the earth," etc., cf. רָבָא לְאַרְץ חֲתָיו, Ps. 143 3. With these modifications this reading may indeed be the original text, and, if so, it contains an idiomatic phrase similar to "grind the faces of the poor," Isa. 3 15.

But after all this seems not entirely satisfying either, and the following emendation is proposed with all due reserve. Read for

השאפים על-עפר-ארץ בראש דלים
השאפים אל-כפר ורצו בשער דלים

Who long for bribes and oppress the poor in the gate.

אל, cf. Eccl. 1 5. כפר as in Am. 5 12, 1 S. 12 3. Here the judges are pictured as eagerly longing for the price with which the criminals would buy their release, and oppressing the poor in court who cannot give them money, thus making it impossible for them to get redress for their wrongs. רצו, as in Am. 4 1.

³ That the LXX should have translated השאפים by ἐκονδύλιζον is most improbable. Why the Oxford Septuagint Concordance should put † after τὰ πατοῦντα in Am. 2 7 is difficult to see, since both שאף (Ps. 55 1. 2 56 a) and שוק (Ps. 138 11) are translated by καταπατεῖν.

⁴ *The Books of Joel and Amos*, p. 149, in the "Cambridge Bible."

In a note in *AJSL*, xix. January, 1903, pp. 116 f., the present writer suggested that *καὶ ἐκονδύλιζον* of the LXX was probably a translation of *וְרָצוּ*, which the Greek translator had in his Hebrew text. This would presuppose the reading *וְרָצוּ אֶרֶץ*. But it appears more likely that the LXX had the same consonantal Hebrew text as the Massorites, and that *καὶ ἐκονδύλιζον* was freely supplied by the translator, after he had mistakenly joined the previous clause to vs. 6. While thus the LXX has suggested the way out of the difficulty, it is probably not to be regarded as external authority for the proposed emendation, for the corruption of the text is older than the LXX.

PROCEEDINGS

DECEMBER, 1908

THE forty-fourth meeting of the Society was held in Schermerhorn Hall, Columbia University, New York City, on Wednesday and Thursday, December 30th and 31st, 1908. The first session was held at 9.50 A.M., President Porter being in the Chair. Reading of the records of the last meeting was omitted, as they had been distributed in print.

Professor Bewer reported for the Publishing Committee, and read an official announcement from Pastor Schrader of the death of his father, Professor Eberhard Schrader, an honorary member of this Society. Professor Bewer also exhibited a copy of Professor Hilprecht's book, "The So-called Peters-Hilprecht Controversy," presented to the Society by the author. Professors Lyon, F. Brown, and Gottheil were appointed a Committee to draw up a memorial on Professor Schrader in the name of the Society.

The Recording Secretary read his annual report, which was accepted and placed on file. The Chair appointed Professors Paton, W. A. Brown, and Peritz a Committee to nominate officers. Professor Gottheil reported from the Committee of Arrangements. The Chair appointed Professors Gottheil and Wood an Auditing Committee.

At 10 Professor Porter gave the President's address, on "The Bearing of Historical Studies on the Religious Use of the Bible."

Professor Prince read the Treasurer's report, and the Recording Secretary read his financial statement. These two papers were referred to the Auditing Committee.

From 11 A.M. to 1 P.M. papers were read and discussed as follows:

By Professor Ropes: "The Sociological Ideas of Paul."
By Professor Peritz: "The Meaning of the Still, Small Voice in 1 Kings 19 12." By Professor Montgomery, "Some Gleanings from Pognon's ZKR Inscription." By Professor Wood: "Folk Tales in Old Testament Narrative."

It was voted to refer to the Council a resolution protesting against the tariff on scientific and technical books, and also a resolution requesting the Carnegie Institution of Washington to enlarge the scope of its grants in aid of research.

Adjourned for lunch and social hour.

Wednesday Afternoon. The Society met at 2.45. The Council reported that they had chosen Prof. J. A. Bewer as Corresponding Secretary, and Prof. B. W. Bacon and Rev. W. H. Cobb as additional members of the Publishing Committee. They announced that the next meeting would be held in Columbia University during the Christmas holidays of 1909, the particular time and place to be reported later, and the Committee of Arrangements to consist of Professors Jackson, Prince, and W. A. Brown. On nomination by the Council, the following active members were elected:

Prof. Edward Arthur Wicher, D.D., San Anselmo, Cal.

Prof. Isaac Clark, D.D., Washington, D.C.

Prof. Alexander R. Gordon, Litt.D., Montreal, Can.

From 3 to 5.20 papers were read and discussed as follows:

By Professor Paton: "The Usage of the Name Baal."
By Dr. Guthrie: "Corinth as Destination of the Epistle to the Hebrews." By Professor Bewer: "Notes on Obadiah."
By Professor Berry: "The Limited Efficacy of Sacrifice in the Old Testament." By Dr. Ward: "The Origin of the Yahweh Worship." Adjourned.

Wednesday Evening. The Society met at 8. The Council presented the following resolutions, which were adopted unanimously:

Resolved, That the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis joins with other learned societies in representing to the Trustees of the Carnegie Institution of Washington the importance to the civilization of this country of emphasis upon the humanities equally with the natural sciences, and in requesting the Trustees to include more fully in their grants in aid of research the fields of philology, archæology, and ancient history.

Whereas, The present duty of twenty-five per cent, *ad valorem*, on books in the English language published abroad is, so far as scientific and technical works are concerned, of the nature of a tax on scholars, without compensating advantages of protection to authors or publishers, or of appreciable increase of revenue, and is to that extent contrary to public policy, and especially to that policy of fostering learning and education which has always characterized the administration of our government, therefore be it

Resolved, That the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis petition the Committee on Ways and Means of the National Congress to take steps for the repeal of the duty on books of a scientific and technical character, in the English language, published abroad, putting these books on the same footing as books published in a foreign language.

At 8.10 President Francis Brown gave the Report of the Directors of the American School at Jerusalem, following it with illustrations by the stereopticon.

At 9.15 Professor Lyon addressed the Society on "The Harvard Excavations at Samaria," giving illustrations by the stereopticon.

Adjourned at 10.

Thursday Morning, December 31. — The Society met at 9.45. On nomination by the Council the following active members were elected :

Rev. John B. Kelso, Ph.D., Grove City, Pa.

Prof. Lilla F. Morse, S.T.M., So. Hadley, Mass.

Professor Paton, from the Committee on Nominations, reported the following list of officers, who were then unanimously elected :

H. P. Smith,	<i>President.</i>
D. G. Lyon,	<i>Vice-President.</i>
W. H. Cobb,	<i>Recording Secretary.</i>
J. D. Prince,	<i>Treasurer.</i>
F. C. Porter,	} <i>Additional members of Council.</i>
I. F. Wood,	
J. A. Montgomery,	
G. A. Barton,	} <i>To represent the Society on the</i> <i>Board of the Palestine School.</i>
N. Schmidt,	
A. T. Clay,	

Professor Gottheil reported from the Auditing Committee that the accounts of the Treasurer and the Recording Secretary were correct and the vouchers satisfactory.

The thanks of the Society were returned to Columbia University and to the Committee of Arrangements for the accommodations provided for this meeting.

Professor Lyon presented the following Minute, which was then adopted by vote of the Society :

The Society records with sorrow the death of Professor Eberhard Schrader of Berlin, an Honorary Member of this body since 1891. With a broad basis in classical, theological, and Semitic studies, he turned his especial attention nearly forty years ago to the young science of Assyriology, then struggling for recognition in Germany. By the thoroughness of his method and the energy of his championship, he did more than any other man to win respect for it at a critical time among the scholars of German universities. Its historical aspects and its bearings upon biblical scholarship were of particular interest to him, and students of the Old Testament, in particular, owe him a great debt.

He was a man of large heart as well as large mind, and those who had the privilege of his friendship were constantly impressed by his geniality, his heartiness, and his unfailing pleasure in good work by whomsoever it was done. His life was crowned by an exhibition of cheerful fortitude maintained during the years of a long and trying illness. The Society desires to express its appreciation, not only of his fruitful scholarship, but also of his noble character.

From 10 A.M. to 1 P.M. papers were read and discussed as follows :

By Professor Clay: "The Chief Deity of the Amorites."

By Professor Barton : "Abraham and Archæology." By Professor Haupt : "Does the Scripture say that the Christ cometh out of the Town of Bethlehem?" By Dr. Barrows : "Psychology and Exegesis." By Professor Bacon : "The Apocalyptic Chapter in the Synoptic Gospels."

Adjourned at 1 P.M.

WILLIAM H. COBB,
Recording Secretary.

REPORT
OF
FUNDS IN HANDS OF RECORDING SECRETARY

Receipts

Balance, Dec. 27, 1907	\$ 53 56
Sales of Journal for the year	220 45
Postage returned	1 15
	<hr/>
	\$275 16
	<hr/>

Disbursements

1908.

Jan. 23, Distributing Journal of 1907, part 2	\$13 00
Feb. 17, Berwick & Smith, press-work and binding Journal of 1907, part 2	65 35
July 7, Berwick & Smith, press-work Journal of 1908, part 1.	48 82
July 29, Berwick & Smith, binding Journal of 1908, part 1	19 01
Mar. 9, Thomas Todd, programmes printed	5 75
Thomas Todd, blank receipts printed	2 25
Oct. 17, Insurance on vols. at Newton Centre	4 50
July 8, Distributing Journal of 1908, part 1	15 00
Dec. 22, " " " " 2	15 00
Dec. 29, Postage, expressage, and exchange for the year	6 20
Balance, in Shawmut Bank, Boston	80 28
	<hr/>
	\$275 16
	<hr/>

Audited, and found correct, Dec. 30, 1908.

RICHARD GOTTHEIL, } *Auditors.*
IRVING F. WOOD, }

ANNUAL REPORT
OF
THE TREASURER OF THE SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE
AND EXEGESIS

December, 1907, to December, 1908

Receipts

1908.

Jan. 1, Carried forward	\$ 94 89
Dues	612 20
Initiations	125 00
Total	<u>\$832 09</u>

Disbursements

1908.

Jan. 2, Buskirk	\$ 15 52
Jan. 6, Bacon	4 51
Feb. 7, Cushing	175 55
Mar. 12, Exchange	1 20
Mar. 12, Cushing	228 18
Cash in hand	412 08
Total	<u>\$832 09</u>

The above Report for 1908 is herewith respectfully submitted Dec. 30, 1908.

J. DYNELEY PRINCE, *Treasurer.*

Audited and found correct.

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¹ This list has been corrected up to Dec. 11, 1909. Members are requested to notify the Recording Secretary of any change of address.

² The two numbers prefixed to the name of each member indicate the order and date of his accession to membership in the Society.

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CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS
OF THE
SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND EXEGESIS

(As Amended Dec. 28, 1901)

CONSTITUTION

I

THIS association shall be called "The Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis."

II

The object of the Society shall be to stimulate the critical study of the Scriptures by presenting, discussing, and publishing original papers on Biblical topics.

III

The officers of the Society shall be a President, a Vice-President, a Recording Secretary, a Corresponding Secretary, and a Treasurer, who, with five others, shall be united in a Council. These shall be elected annually by the Society, with the exception of the Corresponding Secretary, who shall be elected annually by the Council. Additional members of the Council shall be the Presidents of the Sections hereinafter provided for. There shall be also a Publishing Committee, consisting of the Corresponding Secretary and two others, who shall be annually chosen by the Council.

IV

Members shall be elected by the Society upon the recommendation of the Council. They may be of two classes, active and honorary. Honorary members shall belong to other nationalities than that of the United States of America, and shall be especially distinguished for their attainments as Biblical scholars. The number of honorary members chosen at the first election shall be not more than ten; in any succeeding year not more than two.

V

The Society shall meet at least once a year, at such time and place as the Council may determine. On the first day of the annual meeting the President, or some other member appointed by the Council for the purpose, shall deliver an address to the Society.

VI

Sections, consisting of all the members of the Society residing in a particular locality, may be organized, with the consent of the Council,

for the object stated in Article II, provided that the number of members composing any Section shall not be less than twelve. Each Section shall annually choose for itself a President, whose duty it shall be to preside over its meeting, and to take care that such papers and notes read before it as the Section may judge to be of sufficient value are transmitted promptly to the Corresponding Secretary of the Society. The Sections shall meet as often as they shall severally determine, provided that their meetings do not interfere with the meetings of the Society.

VII

This constitution may be amended by a vote of the Society, on recommendation of the Council, such amendment having been proposed at a previous meeting, and notice of the same having been sent to the members of the Society.

BY-LAWS

I

It shall be the duty of the President, or, in his absence, of the Vice-President, to preside at all the meetings of the Society; but, in the absence of both these officers, the Society may choose a presiding officer from the members present.

II

It shall be the duty of the Recording Secretary to notify the members, at least two weeks in advance, of each meeting, transmitting to them at the same time the list of papers to be presented at the meeting; to keep a record of the proceedings of such meetings; to preserve an accurate roll of the members; to make an annual report of the condition of the Society; to distribute its publications, and to do such other like things as the Council may request.

III

It shall be the duty of the Corresponding Secretary to conduct the correspondence of the Society, and in particular, to use his best efforts for the securing of suitable papers and notes to be presented to the Society at each meeting; to prepare a list of such papers, and to place it in the hands of the Recording Secretary for transmission to the members; to receive all papers and notes that shall have been presented, and lay them before the Publishing Committee.

IV

It shall be the duty of the Treasurer to take charge of all the funds of the Society, and to invest or disburse them under the direction of the Council, rendering an account of all his transactions to the Society at each annual meeting.

V

It shall be the duty of the Council to propose candidates for membership of the Society; to elect the Corresponding Secretary and the additional members of the Publishing Committee; to fix the times and places for meetings, and generally to supervise the interests of the Society.

VI

It shall be the duty of the Publishing Committee to publish the proceedings of the Society, and also to select, edit, and publish, as far as the funds of the Society will justify, such papers and notes from among those laid before them, as shall in their judgment be fitted to promote Biblical science.

VII

The fee for admission into the Society shall be five dollars, besides which each member shall annually pay a tax of three dollars; but libraries may become members without the fee for admission, from which, also, members permanently residing abroad shall be exempt. The donation at one time, by a single person, of fifty dollars shall exempt the donor from all further payments, and no payments shall be required of honorary members.

VIII

Each member shall be entitled to receive, without additional charge, one copy of each publication of the Society after his election; in addition to which, if he be a contributor to the *Journal*, he shall receive twenty-five copies of any article or articles he may have contributed.

IX

Five members of the Council, of whom not less than three shall have been elected directly by the Society, shall constitute a quorum thereof. Twelve members of the Society shall constitute a quorum thereof for the transaction of business, but a smaller number may continue in session for the purpose of hearing and discussing papers presented.

The following resolution, supplementary to the By-Laws, with reference to the price at which members may procure extra copies of the *Journal*, was adopted June 13th, 1884.

Resolved: That the Secretary be authorized to furnish to members, for the purpose of presentation, additional copies of any volume of the *Journal*, to the number of ten, at the rate of \$1 a copy, but that the price to persons not members be the amount of the annual assessment.



AMERICAN SCHOOL IN PALESTINE

THE AMERICAN SCHOOL FOR ORIENTAL STUDY AND RESEARCH IN PALESTINE was founded in 1900, and is affiliated with the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis and the Archaeological Institute of America. It is supported by a number of American Universities, Colleges, and Theological Seminaries, and by private subscriptions. The School is established in Jerusalem, and offers to properly qualified persons excellent opportunities for the study of the Semitic languages, and of the geography, archaeology, and history of Syria. The Thayer Memorial Fellowship, with a stipend of \$600, is awarded annually on examination. The Director of the School for 1908-1909 is Professor R. F. HAYES of the University of Chicago. The Chairman of the Committee on Fellowships is Professor CHARLES C. TORREY, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut. A list of books recommended to candidates for the Fellowship and copies of recent examination papers will be found in the AMERICAN JOURNAL OF ARCHAEOLOGY, vol. xi. 1907, Supplement.

For further information address the Chairman of the Managing Committee,

PROFESSOR CHARLES C. TORREY,
Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.

JOURNAL OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE

Special attention is called to the fact that back volumes of the JOURNAL OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE can now be supplied to members of the Society at the following reduced rates:

Single volumes, \$1.00 each;

Complete sets, vols. i-xxv. 1882-1906, \$20.00.

The rate for complete sets was raised from \$15.00 to \$20.00 on January 1, 1907. Application for back volumes should be made to the Rev. W. H. COBB, Congregational Library, 14 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass.

